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January, 1951

Vol. I

No. 1

THE MONTANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

"To Preserve, To Publish, and To Promote interest in,
The History of Montana"

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THE MONTANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY DEDICATION

The Historical Society of Montana presents THE MONTANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY to the citizens of the State of Montana, as the beginning of a new era in making known and permanently recording, the historic events of the "Treasure State" of the nation.

The deeds of men and women who have so indelibly marked the milestones of progress in building our great Montana commonwealth shall not go unheeded. To the memory of the pioneers who wrested a wilderness from the grasp of an ever-resisting frontier, to carve the foundation of a great state; and to those who came after and carried on the zealous task, recognition is due. To the preservation of the history of the State of Montana, THE MONTANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY is dedicated.

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—Photo by Lovelace

MARY HUNTER DOANE

THE ANDREW JACKSON HUNTER FAMILY—
MARY HUNTER DOANE
By Merrill G. Burlingame

The story of a state is the story of its people. In a state as young as Montana, it is still largely a story of its pioneers. Those who settle an area have an influence and a responsibility far out of proportion to their number. Montana was fortunate in the type of people attracted to its plains and valleys in its pioneer days. The Andrew Jackson Hunter family, and Mary Hunter Doane, its last remaining pioneer descendent, the subjects for this sketch, represent many of the typical qualities for the pioneers of Montana.

Mary Hunter Doane, President of the Society of Montana Pioneers for the year 1949-1950, is the immediate subject of this biography. A resident of Bozeman, which she first saw in 1864, she observed her ninety-first birthday on July 7, 1950. No one considers Mrs. Doane as being aged, however. Alert, genial and a strikingly handsome lady she walks about the town at will to visit her friends and often journeys to distant cities to participate in movements of interest and value. She has served as president of the Gallatin County Pioneers Society for a number of years. She is an active member of the Bozeman chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and a faithful attendant of the Episcopal Church. Mrs. Doane observed her sixth birthday on the high plains enroute to Montana. The Hunter family group, which was the only one in the train they accompanied, consisted of Andrew Jackson Hunter, his wife, Susannah Murray Hunter, Mary and two younger children.¹

Andrew Jackson Hunter was born in Prince Edward County, Virginia, March 18, 1816, the youngest of sixteen children. The family started the typically American westward movement in 1818 when a move to Kentucky was made, followed by another in a few years to Louisiana. Here Andrew became a physician at a rather early age. He married a Miss Philpott and two children were born of this marriage. By 1856 Dr. Hunter was serving as physician for the Illinois Central Railway. Following the death

¹ Much of the material for this paper has come from interviews with Mrs. Mary Doane in Bozeman. She has a considerable number of manuscripts of addresses which she has given over a period of many years, newspaper clippings, legal documents, and the family Bible. A number of newspaper articles have appeared which concern the Hunter family such as those in: *Silver State Post*, Feb. 7, 1937; *Rocky Mountain Husbandman*, Oct. 9, 1939.

of Mrs. Hunter, Andrew moved in 1857 to Benton County, Missouri. Here on October 12, 1858, Dr. Hunter was married to Susannah C. Murray.

Susannah Murray was one of twelve children whose grandparents had both been born in County Donegal, Ireland, of staunch Scotch descent. The grandfather had come to America in June, 1776, and immediately entered into revolutionary activities. Following the war this family had also moved westward—to Harrisburg, Pa., in 1783, and to Stark County, Ohio, in 1809. By 1835 the family had moved three counties west to Richland County, where at Mansfield, Susannah was born on May 28. A later move took them to Missouri where Susannah met Dr. Hunter.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, Dr. Hunter entered the Confederate Army as surgeon. As the war in the West ceased to be severe he left the service and established his home in Chester, Randolph County, Illinois, where again he became a railway physician.

Dr. Hunter's family had been large slave holders and possessed considerable wealth which had not been dissipated by the war. With his inheritance to which he added, Dr. Hunter made another move westward, to Callaway County, Missouri. Here he acquired a considerable farm, a general store and drug store, and a spacious home. In the closing days of the war the country was swept by irresponsible guerilla troops, and because of Dr. Hunter's avowed Southern sympathies and his participation in the Confederate army, his property became the mark of these marauding hands. The climax of these attacks occurred during the absence of Dr. Hunter. The home and the store were burned to the ground, and the family was in a state of panic.

Dr. Hunter saw nothing but further contention in the area. He immediately converted his remaining property into cash, fitted up a wagon, and on April 2, 1864, set out for the Far West which had appealed to his restless nature for a considerable time. In Omaha the family joined a train consisting of thirty-two men for the trip across the plains.

The original destination of the train was Boise, Idaho. Information obtained on the plains aroused interest in the new mines in Montana, and the direction was changed. When the Hunters arrived on the site of Bozeman on August 1, 1864, only a few tents marked the future town. The citizens were to meet eight days hence, mark the limits of the townsite, and name it for John Bozeman.

Dr. Hunter had acquired a severe case of gold fever, and the family continued on the metropolis of the Territory, Virginia City. Here they were able to secure a cabin on the mountain side up Alder Gulch. They found that they had arrived much too late to secure a profitable mining claim. Dr. Hunter secured considerable experience in mining, however, and was fortunate in having his medical profession for which there was an urgent need.

In March, 1865, the Hunters moved to Helena, following the rush to this new mining center. There they camped for a time on the site of the present First National Bank. Again, Dr. Hunter, together with many others, were unable to obtain a claim worth working. He was one of the first to leave, early in 1866, with the rush to the last of the rich mining gulches, Confederate Gulch, some thirty miles east of Helena. Here in the boom town of Diamond City he took part in the vigilance movement, in the miners courts, and was named delegate to the 1866 constitutional convention. He also served as probate judge for Meagher County in which the mining gulch was located. Continuing the search for gold the family moved for a time to nearby New York Gulch, again without success.

After two years in the Confederate group of mining gulches, Dr. Hunter became convinced that quick wealth from the mines was unlikely for him. He then turned his attention back to medicine and moved again, this time to the crossroads of the region, Canyon House, now Canyon Ferry. Here he remained until November, 1869, devoting his entire time to his medical practice.

Dr. Hunter frequently recalled that enroute to the mines, while hunting antelope, in the upper Yellowstone valley, he had investigated with care a large and active hot springs. The thought of developing a medical center at the springs, similar to that in Arkansas which he knew, haunted him. Bozeman was the closest settlement to the hot springs, and since it offered an opportunity for a medical practice until the springs could be developed, he moved his family there in December, 1869. In addition to his practice, he served as probate judge, as contract surgeon at nearby Fort Ellis, and notations in the County Commissioners Journals indicate that he took a contract in 1871, which was renewed in 1873, as county physician at a salary of \$8.00 per week.²

The role of Mrs. Hunter in this pioneer period had not been an easy one. In the midst of living in difficult surroundings

² Gallatin County Commissioners Journals, Vol. I, pp. 283; 489.

where families were the exception rather than the rule, she was raising a sizeable family. The names of the Hunter children indicate the attachment of the family for the Confederate cause. Mary Lee, the oldest, had been born in 1859, and the "Lee" was only incidentally intertwined with the admirable family in her father's home state of Virginia. The other children in the order of their ages were: Davis Beaugard, Lizzie Kate Longstreet, Thomas Stonewall, Sallie, Emma Sidney Johnson, and a daughter born in New York Gulch was named Montana.^{*} Mrs. Hunter taught her children in the home, provided for their needs in the face of frequent moves, and found time to take an active part in the civic and cultural life of the community in which she lived.

Dr. Hunter carried on his medical practice in Bozeman and developed the hot springs project as fast as possible. He took squatters rights to the area, about 20 miles east of the present Livingston in February, 1870, since there had been no land survey. In 1873 he built a home and what were considered rather pretentious bath houses. The lumber for the buildings was purchased in Bozeman at a cost of \$80 per 1,000 feet with an additional cost of \$60 for transportation. The land was surveyed in 1878 and Dr. Hunter took a homestead claim. The Northern Pacific disputed his rights and a long legal controversy ended in 1882 in Dr. Hunter's favor. The railroad was built past the springs in 1883, and in that year more adequate facilities were provided for the larger number of people which the railroad brought.

Mrs. Doane recalls many adventures which took place at the Hot Springs. During any absence of the men of the household, the house was securely barricaded, and Mrs. Hunter and the girls became adept in the use of firearms. The government established an Indian agency for the Crows some ten miles from the hot springs, for which Dr. Hunter was physician for a considerable time. The agency was welcome because it brought a settlement within a reasonable distance, but it also brought the major portion of the Crows into the vicinity at various times during the year. The Crows were usually friendly, but on many occasions they were an outright nuisance.

^{*}Mary Hunter Doane, the first of the Hunter children to be born, July 7, 1859, is the only one now living. Davis was born Nov. 25, 1861. Lizzie was born January 25, 1863. She was married to Frank W. Rich and lived for many years at Dean, Montana. Thomas was born Nov. 25, 1864 in Alder Gulch. He was drowned in the Yellowstone River at the Benson's Landing Crossing in 1875. Montana, born Nov. 4, 1866 in Confederate Gulch, lived only a few weeks. Sallie was born in Confederate Gulch, Nov. 27, 1867. She was married to Harry Jones. Emma was born at the present Canyon Ferry, Oct. 24, 1869. She died at the Hot Springs in 1873, the first year the family lived in the Yellowstone Valley. Only four grandchildren were born, four in the Rich family and one in the Jones family.

The Hunters were delighted to find that the soil was well adapted to gardening. They discovered also that the several hot springs which produced some 90,000 gallons of hot water an hour moderated the temperature within a small radius which enabled them to raise some unusual fruits and vegetables, including watermelons which they had enjoyed in the south. The Crows first objected to the ground being disturbed saying it would bring the rain which would destroy their hunting. When their fears had been overcome the Crows were fascinated with the growing crops. They found themselves unable to refrain from digging and sampling at all times of the year. They were particularly fond of potatoes and insisted upon digging them as soon as they set on. Mrs. Doane tells an amusing story of a band carrying away a green watermelon. They returned some days later asking how one should be eaten. The longer they cooked theirs, they said, the tougher it became.

The Piegan tribe of the Blackfeet was the scourge of the Yellowstone for Crows and whites alike. The Crows were always humiliated when the Piegans outwitted them and made a raid in the valley. On one occasion the Piegans stole several of the Hunter horses. They rode them hard and left them almost completely ruined at a Crow camp where they stole fresh mounts. The Crows recognized the Hunter animals and sent fresh horses to the Springs apologizing for not being more alert.

On another occasion the Crow Chief, Iron Bull, and his band appeared at the Hot Springs and demanded that all of the Hunters accompany them on a buffalo hunt lasting several days. Dr. Hunter was perplexed and reluctant to go, but Iron Bull was determined and not wanting to offend the friendly Indians, the family prepared quickly for the trip. After traveling eastward for three days, Iron Bull came to the Hunter tent one morning and said, "Today you may return to your home. I will send one of my men with you." The Hunters were again surprised for no buffalo had been seen. They were greatly pleased, however, when Iron Bull explained that a large band of Piegans had invaded the valley again, and the Hunters would have risked being killed if they had remained at home.

In the early years at the Springs the Hunters were often disturbed by large numbers of game animals coming to drink the warm water. This was particularly true in winter, but on occasion damage was done to the gardens and fields. Mrs. Hunter declared that she had seen herds of not less than 5,000 elk cross

the Yellowstone and leave its colder waters to come to the springs to drink.⁴

In 1885, Dr. Hunter sold the major portion of his rights to the Montana Hot Springs Company formed by Cyrus B. Mendenhall, Heber Roberts and A. L. Love. In 1898 they were sold to James A. Murray of Butte. Murray built a large hotel and swimming pool, and the resort attracted a large number of people each year until the hotel burned in 1932.

Dr. and Mrs. Hunter returned to Bozeman in 1885 and purchased a home there. Although advanced in years, Dr. Hunter continued to be called upon to practice medicine virtually until his death on April 19, 1894, at the age of 79. Throughout his life Dr. Hunter maintained a wide range of interests, and took a responsible part in civic affairs. At one time he insisted that the Hot Springs be assessed at the very high sum of \$30,000 in order that he might be sure to carry his full share of the costs of government in the thinly populated area. The Bozeman papers made extensive note of his passing, and one editorial closed with the comment: "He was a typical southern gentleman, polite and polished; he was warm hearted, sympathetic and kind; yet withal, he was made of stern material, quick to resent an insult, and fearless often to recklessness."⁵

Mrs. Hunter continued to live in Bozeman until her death on January 17, 1929, at the age of 94, greatly beloved by a wide circle of friends. She was a charter member of the Christian Church and the story was often told among its members that the church building would never have been completed without "Grandma" Hunter's aid. Her home adjoined the building site and while the brick building was under construction, Mrs. Hunter took her turn at the pump filling the buckets with water used in mixing the mortar.

As the children grew up they were sent away to school. Lizzie attended the Gallatin Valley Female Seminary, and Mary enrolled in St. Vincent's Academy in Helena during the years 1876-78. She has many memories of these years as pleasant and profitable, and recalls particularly the visits of Father Palladino to the school, where he was revered by all of the girls.

On December 16, 1878, Mary Hunter was married to Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane. Lieutenant Doane had come to Fort Ellis in 1869, and had immediately taken a leading part in the development of Montana. He was in charge of the military escort

⁴ "Hunter's Hot Springs," *Anaconda Standard*, Sunday, Oct. 27, 1901.

⁵ *Bozeman Weekly Chronicle*, April 26, 1894.

for the first official expedition into Yellowstone National Park in 1870, and his official report of this expedition has become a classic. He led another spectacular expedition into the upper Yellowstone and Snake River region in 1876 in mid-winter, and participated in an important capacity in the aftermath of the Custer disaster and in the Nez Perce invasion in 1877.

The wedding took place in Helena since Mary was in school there and the family was living at the isolated Hot Springs. An additional reason for the ceremony being held in Helena was that the most convenient stage road "to the states" left from Helena to go to the Utah region via Virginia City. Lieutenant Doane had received orders to go to Washington immediately for a winter assignment. "It was a four day trip to the railroad," recalls Mrs. Doane, "and a day was from five o'clock in the morning until eight o'clock at night. And the last lap of the journey we rode all day and all night. It was quite a honeymoon."

After a pleasant winter spent in Washington and Philadelphia, the Doanes came to Bismarck on the new Northern Pacific railroad, in June, 1879. They then took the river steamer "Dakota" for a 14-day trip up the Missouri to the vicinity of Fort Benton. The Lieutenant had been ordered to the new cavalry post, Fort Assiniboine, located a few miles south of the present Havre, then in the process of construction. Here Mrs. Doane set up housekeeping in a tent with packing boxes for furniture. The completed fort was large and commodious, however, and since major outbreaks did not take place, life at the fort was largely routine and on the whole pleasant.

Mrs. Doane recalls many instances of social functions: dinner dances, plays, musicals, riding and sports and a good library made time pass rapidly. A group of wives often pooled resources to make a dinner an elegant occasion. Silver, laces, linens, cut glass, and the ingredients for delicious salads and desserts could be assembled in short order even in an isolated army post. "Think of canned oysters as a luxury," Mrs. Doane remarks, "many times I have served them scalloped and they were enjoyed. And as for salads, why potatoes with a liberal portion of bleached winter cabbage, celery seed and a flavor of onion is perfectly all right. To us it was most acceptable." The commanding officer was solicitous for the morale of his men and early in the building program constructed a large assembly hall. The rough native-sawed wood floor was covered with canvass and waxed to form an excellent dance floor. "We dressed for these balls in our very best," Mrs. Doane recalls, "although some of us had a mile to walk

through the grass, and fight mosquitoes all the way. There were millions of these pests—that may have had something to do with our very great enthusiasm for dancing."

The Doanes went from Fort Assiniboine to Fort Maginnis for a time, and were stationed briefly at Fort Ellis. As the need for military forces declined in Montana, the 2nd Cavalry was transferred to the Presidio in San Francisco in 1884, immediately after Doane had been made a captain. The following year the 2nd Cavalry was ordered to Arizona to take part in the Apache War, one of the last severe Indian outbreaks in our history.

Mrs. Doane had gone with her husband from one bleak Montana army post to another, but she was now to be faced with other rigors, those of the hot southwest. She followed the rapidly moving troops, living in the small arid towns adjacent to the army camps, and was with them on the platform when Geronimo and his immediate band of Apache warriors were entrained for Florida.

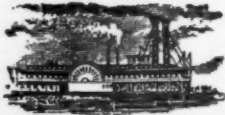
Captain Doane's health suffered in the campaign of the Southwest and he was granted leave to return to Montana for rest. His illness increased rapidly, however, and he died in Bozeman, May 5, 1892. Mrs. Doane continued to live in Bozeman which she had watched grow from an open prairie.

Because she has participated in so much of the history of the town and state, Mrs. Doane has been interested in collecting historical materials. She is frequently called upon to speak and to assist in the preparation of historical articles. Her keen and accurate memory enables her to recall and verify almost all of the major developments in Montana's history. "I sometimes get tired of being a walking encyclopedia of the history of Bozeman and Montana," Mrs. Doane remarks after an entire stranger has appeared unexpectedly and stayed all afternoon. "But, I suppose I am the only one left who remembers Bozeman from the beginning, and I am glad to tell of what I have seen."

Mrs. Doane retains much of the vitality which assisted her in enduring the rigors of the trip across the plains as a child, the life in the mining gulches, and in the frontier military posts where as one of the most beautiful and gracious women in the fort she contributed a great deal to its social life. She recalls incidents of the many notable persons she has known. Governor and Mrs. Benjamin F. Potts attended her wedding, and through her association with the military forts, and the Pioneers' Society she has come to know almost all of the later governors. She knew General W. T. Sherman, General Nelson Miles, General Hugh

Scott, and a host of other military leaders, since many of the men who started their career in the western forts later received high rank. She knew most of the pioneer missionary clergy. Bishop Tuttle, Bishop Brewer, Father Palladino, Brother Van and many other less well known she considered as friends. She has also counted a number of Indian chieftains as friends, perhaps the most notable in recent years was Chief Plenty Coups of the Crows.

Shunning publicity, but accepting the responsibility of knowing Montana, through having participated in so much of its development, Mrs. Doane shares gladly her large store of information which she can interpret so ably. She lends her best effort to preserve the rich heritage which she has had a part in creating. A major interest has been in assisting the D.A.R. in selecting many of the historic sites and in the erecting of their distinctive markers. Through her activity in the Society of Montana Pioneers, leading to its presidency during the past year, she has been able to assist in important state-wide movements. She has an ardent desire to see more and better Montana history written, and is tireless in her search for the exact date and accurate details.

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Reproduction of card in circulation in the East in 1867, encouraging Westward travel to Montana. Date and time of departure were inserted for public information. The reverse side is shown on page 22.

THE HISTORY OF THE MONTANA VETERANS AND PIONEERS MEMORIAL BUILDING

By Lester H. Loble

Jack Johnson, the great negro heavyweight prize fighter won the world's championship in Sydney, Australia, in 1908, by defeating Tommy Burns. That fight affected the future course of boxing, and indirectly contributed \$48,000 for the Montana Veterans and Pioneers Memorial Building, now being erected at Helena.

Following this fight, a great hue and cry arose to find a "white hope" who could defeat Jack Johnson. During this period, boxing was in disrepute, and many states banned it as illegal. Jack Johnson finally lost the world's heavyweight championship, but not until a great impetus had been given to boxing in the efforts to find a "white hope" who could defeat him.

During this time, boxing was illegal in Montana, and then, as in other states, a movement was started to legalize boxing in Montana. A referendum to legalize boxing was submitted to the people in 1914. It was known as the Kiley boxing law, and was hotly contested and then defeated.

In 1919 the Legislative Assembly legalized boxing and passed a bill providing that a certain portion of the net proceeds of boxing matches should go for the benefit of soldiers, sailors and marines. Through the following years a substantial fund accumulated at the state treasury from these activities. This fund is now a part of the money being used for the erection of the Veterans and Pioneers Memorial Building.

Now, to go back further—The enabling act by which Montana was created provides that certain income from lands given to the State by the U. S. government should be used for erecting public buildings at the state capital. This income goes into the "Capitol Building Land Grant Fund." It is from this fund that the greater portion of the principal and interest for the Veterans and Pioneers Memorial Building is paid.

The first legislative act approving the erection of a Pioneers building was in 1923. It was hoped that persons would voluntarily donate money to erect the building, however, nothing was accomplished. Then came the legislative acts of 1929, 1937 and finally that of 1941. It was this last act that really set in motion the program for the erection of this building.

The President of the Montana Pioneers in 1941 was Miss Mary Evans of Anaconda, and Lester H. Loble was President of the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers. H. R. Hampton of Lewistown was Chairman of the Veterans' Memorial Fund Commission and W. G. Ferguson of Helena, its secretary. Mr. Hampton was Chairman for the Spanish American War Veterans; Robert T. Merrill represented the Veterans of Foreign Wars; John J. Byrne represented the Disabled American Veterans, and Mr. Ferguson represented the American Legion; and Mr. J. Ward Crosby was the fifth member. Many others of the veterans groups and the pioneers worked on the program, and the cooperation and assistance of Mr. Ferguson was an extremely important factor in our success.

The problem was how to build it, and where to get the funds for the Pioneer building. It was finally determined that an effort would be made to earmark certain funds in the Capitol Building Land Grant Fund for the building. However, none of this money could be used for any purpose except building, which left none for furnishings.

During this period, meetings were held by representatives of the Montana Pioneers and the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers and the Veterans' Welfare Commission to see if we could work together. It was just a chance meeting as the result of a telephone call that got a few of those interested together, probably five or six, at the Placer Hotel one evening to talk it over to see what could be worked out.

At that meeting, it was determined that the Montana Pioneers and the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers and the Veterans would combine forces to erect a building to be known as the Montana Veterans and Pioneers Memorial Building. It was decided that into the building would go not only the Capitol Building Land Grant Fund, but also the \$48,000 that the Veterans had on deposit in the state treasury from the boxing tax.

Whether these funds could be co-mingled was the question, and it was decided that a test case would be taken to the Supreme Court. Such case was taken to the Supreme Court under the title "Willett vs. Board of Examiners." The court held that these funds could be co-mingled and we were then a long way toward our objective.

We had earmarked the Capitol Building Land Grant Fund, and had agreed to put in the money of the Veterans' Welfare Fund to be used for things which could not be bought with the Capitol Building Land Grant Fund.

The advantages of presenting the building problem in this way to the Legislature were manifold. First, it was a triple presentation, by the Veterans, the Pioneers, and the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers. One could hear the measured tread of some old Pioneer, as, accompanied by some Veteran, he went from desk to desk in the Legislature, before committee after committee presenting the building problem. Another advantage was that it did not take money that would require direct taxation. The Capitol Building Land Grant Fund can be used only for buildings at the Capital.

The first effort was to issue bonds in the sum of \$250,000 to be paid from income from the Capitol Land Grant Fund, which was ample to pay off the interest and principal of this amount.

It was at this time that World War II started, and the program was stopped. Then, in Legislature after Legislature, efforts were made to increase the amount of the proposed bond issue, and many were the difficulties in holding on to the earmarked income of the Capitol Building Land Grant Fund.

The next question that arose was the type of architecture of the building, and who should decide what kind of a building it was to be. All of the architects in Montana were invited to submit plans and these plans, from some nine or ten architects, were given to the Montana Pioneers and the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers and to the Veterans group to look over. At their separate conventions, without any influence whatsoever, and by secret votes, it so happened that one set of plans appealed to all groups, and there was never any conflict in the matter.

It might well be here and now noted that here were six organizations, four of veterans and two of pioneers, working for a common objective, and that there has never been a time during these many years of combined effort that there has been any kind of disagreement among them. It is an outstanding example of teamwork and harmony, perhaps due to the fact that these Veterans had in their veins the same type of blood as the pioneers of yesteryear, blood that produced determination and a desire to accomplish this purpose, and a willingness to compromise any difference of opinion.

Without this leadership and harmony, the Veterans and Pioneers Building of 1950 would never have been a reality.

A problem then arose as to the location. This nearly upset the entire program. There were some who wanted to put the building on the capitol grounds. This would have meant tearing up some of the fine shrubbery and lawn. Many of us opposed

this plan because the pioneer building on the Capitol grounds would look insignificant in the shadow of the great Capitol Building, and would destroy much of the beauty of both. Some wanted to put it immediately north of the Capitol, on a small lot there. Some wanted to put it elsewhere. It was not until the late Victor Kessler of Helena, long treasurer of the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers, and the writer of this article thought of going to the office of the County Clerk and Recorder and buying the tax lots immediately east of the Capitol Building that the problem was solved.

The Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers bought 63 lots for \$115. That doesn't seem like a large amount of money but it was a large amount for the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers, because the association only gets \$1.00 per year per member in dues. In fact, it was all the money that it had. The deed was made out to the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers and those lots so blanketed the entire area between 6th Avenue and Lockey Avenue, east of Roberts Street, that those few people who owned lots within the area were at an extreme disadvantage to make use of their property. Most of them did not live in the state, and the state was able to purchase those few remaining lots at a very nominal amount.

I venture to say that the property on which the Veterans and Pioneers Memorial Building is being built and upon which was built the magnificent state office building known as the Mitchell Building, is worth thousands and thousands of dollars. In addition to that, the Veterans and Pioneers building faces the Capitol grounds, and has prevented buildings being erected there which would be an eyesore to the landscaping, and has made the construction of the various buildings at the Capitol grounds a matter of pride and beauty.

Oddly enough, we had difficulty in giving this site to the State of Montana. The Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers wanted the privilege of donating this land to the state of Montana and they did, but only after a great deal of effort. We met with the Board of Examiners on the 9th day of May, 1946, after several years of trouble in trying to get the then Governor of the State to accept the site.

By a vote of two to one the deeds were accepted by the Board of Examiners from the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers. This made possible the present location of the building. Those voting to accept the deed were Sam Mitchell, Secretary of State, and Victor Bottomly, Attorney General. Governor Sam

Ford withheld his vote. The wisdom of the majority of the members has been amply proven, because this location is now one of the finest around the Capitol Building and the remainder of the land was used for the Mitchell Building that has just been constructed. There is also ample room for further development.

It took determination, leadership and harmony to accomplish this purpose. It was a long struggle, but a worthwhile one.

JUDICIAL MILEPOSTS

The 13th Legislative Assembly (1913) by Chapter 97 attempted to regulate boxing and sparring in the State of Montana which is commonly known as the Kiley Act having been advocated by John Kiley, a member of the House of Representatives. This act was referred to the people by referendum and was defeated in the election of 1914.

In 1919 the 16th Legislative Assembly by Chapter 190 provided for the establishment of boxing, sparring and wrestling in the State of Montana under an athletic commission and further provided that a percentage of the net proceeds from such exhibitions should be paid to the state treasury for the use and benefit of soldiers, sailors and marines.

The first Legislative act in the 18th Assembly, 1923, by Chapter 57, establishing the Montana Pioneer Historical Fund providing for a commission to secure a satisfactory design for a permanent home for the Historical Society of Montana and the Society of Montana Pioneers and to let a contract for construction of same provided that \$250,000 would be raised through voluntary contributions, legacies, gifts and bequests. This was a gesture and it was thought that the money could be raised in this manner but such was not the case and nothing came of this legislation.

The next legislative act was Chapter 30, 21st Legislative Assembly, 1929, which was definitely a step forward and provided for the construction and furnishing a suitable Montana Historical Library Building as an adjunct to the State Capitol Building authorizing the issuance and sale of bonds by the state. This act provided a pattern but nothing more.

The next legislative act was Chapter 131, 26th Legislative Assembly, 1939, creating a Veteran's Memorial Fund Commission consisting of five persons to be appointed by the Governor from names submitted by the United Spanish War Veterans, Montana Veterans of Foreign Wars, Montana American Legion, Disabled American Veterans of Montana and the fifth member to be se-

lected by these four organizations. One of the purposes of the Veteran's Memorial Fund Commission was to erect a Veterans Memorial Building adjacent to the State Capitol at Helena. Thus, to this date, the Veterans and the Pioneers were working independently for erection of a building.

The writer of this article in collaboration with others, acting for the Veterans Welfare Fund Commission, drafted the bill that became Chapter 79 in the 27th Legislative Assembly, 1941, which combined the activities of these groups for a building to be known as "Montana Veterans and Pioneers Memorial Building." The act provided for bonds to be issued in the amount of \$250,000 and that there be available for payment of the bonds all money in the Veterans Memorial Fund (Section 4559, Revised Codes of Montana, 1935,) from the proceeds of boxing and sparring matches and the remainder of the money for the repayment of the principal of the bonds and the interest from the Capitol Building Land Grant Fund. This act was approved March 1, 1941.

In order to determine the validity of the act, the writer of this article and Mr. Hugh R. Adair, then his law partner, and now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Montana, commenced an action in the Supreme Court entitled "Lottie V. Willett vs. the State Board of Examiners of Montana, et al." In an opinion written by Associate Justice Angstman and concurred in by Chief Justice Howard Johnson and Associate Justices Erickson, Anderson and Morris, the legality of this legislation and the bonds and the propriety of combining the activities of the Veterans and Pioneers and co-mingling the above mentioned funds was approved. 1941 thus became a banner year in this project, both by legislation and by the decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Montana in the case of "Willett vs. State Board of Examiners, 112 Montana, Page 317." This opinion was handed down July 5, 1941.

In 1945 by Chapter 204—29th Legislative Assembly—we were enabled to increase the amount earmarked for the building from \$250,000 to \$400,000, costs having materially increased.

In 1946 the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers acquired a tax sale deed on 63 lots immediately east of the Capitol Building fronting on Roberts Street. The deed was given gratuitously to the State of Montana by the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers as their contribution toward the erection of this building and providing a site. The deed was recorded in the office of the County Clerk and Recorder on the 14th day of May, 1946, in book of deeds 137, on page 112.

The architect approved by the Board of Examiners on July 6, 1948, and likewise unanimously approved by the veterans and pioneers, was A. V. McIver of Great Falls, Montana.

Governor John W. Bonner in his message to the 31st Legislative Assembly in 1949, endorsed the Montana Veterans and Pioneers Memorial Building and recommended that there be set aside for said building an additional \$350,000, bringing the total to \$750,000, and the Legislature adopted his suggestion by Chapter 205—31st Legislative Assembly—1949.

Competitive bids were called for by the Board of Examiners and the contract for the erection of the building was awarded to Carson Construction Company on March 7th, 1950 and at the date of the writing of this article, the building is in the process of erection.

DISTANCES FROM ST. LOUIS.

	MILES.		MILES.
Kansas City.....	461	Yellow Stone River.....	2525
Leavenworth.....	489	Fort Union.....	2325
Fort Leavenworth.....	492	Little Muddy River.....	2345
St. Joseph.....	569	Big Muddy River.....	2396
Brownsville.....	681	Poplar Creek.....	2451
Nebraska City.....	728	Spread Eagle Camp.....	2476
Plattsmouth.....	804	Disaster Bend.....	2491
Council Bluffs.....	826	Porcupine Creek.....	2558
Omaha.....	836	Milk River.....	2579
Sioux City.....	1099	Dry Fork.....	2604
Big Sioux River.....	1041	Harvey Point.....	2669
Vermillion River.....	1123	Bouche's Grave.....	2665
Bow River.....	1151	Round Butte.....	2721
James River.....	1166	Point au Paquet.....	2741
Yankton.....	1181	Muscle Shell River.....	2789
Bonhomme Island.....	1211	Beauchamp's Creek.....	2822
L'Eau Qui Court River.....	1246	Two Calf Island.....	2884
Chouteau Creek.....	1255	Grand Island.....	2889
Fort Randall.....	1288	Baggage Island.....	2891
Little Cedar Island.....	1333	Cow Island.....	2914
Bigou Hills.....	1378	Snake Point.....	2921
White River.....	1408	Sturgeon Island.....	2926
Big Cedar Island.....	1416	Bud's Rapids.....	2937
Crow Creek Agency.....	1444	Bear's Rapids.....	2942
Medicine Creek.....	1489	Lone Pine Rapids.....	2954
Fort Sully.....	1523	Dauphin's Rapids.....	2964
Fort Pierre.....	1530	Antoine Rapids.....	2967
Big Cheyenne River.....	1590	Bonteau Rapids.....	2970
Little Cheyenne River.....	1630	Holmes' Rapids.....	2976
Mouth of Moreau.....	1686	Council Ground.....	2991
Grand River.....	1716	Judith.....	2994
Beaver River.....	1736	Drowned Man's Rapids.....	2998
Cannon Ball River.....	1816	Arrow River.....	3001
Fort Rice.....	1824	Pablo's Rapids.....	3014
Hart River.....	1906	"Hole in the Wall,".....	3022
Fort Clark.....	1971	"Citadel,".....	3029
Knife River.....	1983	Kip's Rapids.....	3033
Fort Berthold.....	2050	Eagle Creek.....	3037
Little Missouri River.....	2090	Sandy Creek.....	3054
Knife River No. 2.....	2123	Mouth Maria.....	3085
White Earth River.....	2178	Fort Benton.....	3112
Big Muddy River.....	2245		

MO. REPUBLICAN PRINT.

Table of distances in the navigation of the Missouri river as estimated in 1867. Boat stops in Montana are shown in the second column. The front of this card is reproduced on page 14.

THE CENTRAL MONTANA VIGILANTE RAIDS OF 1884

By Oscar O. Mueller

Innumerable fantastic tales have been written about the Vigilante Raids of 1884 made by the stockmen of Central Montana. Most of these, however, have had little more than mere gossip as a basis. The Vigilantes were true to their promise not to make public the facts, and they were the only authentic source. In lonely cowpuncher rides, the participants confided some details to intimate friends. But even when only one of the Vigilantes remained alive, these friends hesitated to violate the confidence given them.¹

The stockmen were confronted with severe problems in protecting their business interests in the early '80's. The incomplete reports of the Fort Benton RIVER PRESS, written by local correspondents, summarize the conditions and the sentiment of the time.

The issue of July 2, 1884, reported a \$900 robbery near Helena, and commented: "It is about time the Vigilantes were getting ready for business." Two hundred horses were stolen in another raid. The stealing of stage horses in the upper Musselshell, near Lavina, by Ed Owens and Cy Nicherson was reported with the statement that the thieves "have been a terror in that region."

On July 9, an account appeared of another theft of stage horses near Judith Gap. "Some more cold lead and twisted hemp is badly needed on the Musselshell," said the correspondent. The same issue reported the action of stockmen in lynching two breeds, Leo and Narcissa Laverdure, north of the Missouri near Clagget, at the mouth of the Judith river. "The action of the stockmen on the Musselshell at Clagget ought to be repeated whenever the occasion offers." Said the RIVER PRESS. "It is the only way to put a quietus on this business." Later issues of the RIVER PRESS showed an acceleration of the Vigilante movement. The July 16 number cited several striking instances of disorder and closed on the now familiar note: "The law was powerless to deal with them, and it was left for exasperated and determined stockmen to put an end to their career of lawlessness."

¹ A brief statement attributed to Granville Stuart appeared in his *Forty Years on the Frontier*, edited by Paul C. Phillips, (Cleveland, 1925, 2 vols.), II:205-209. This is contradictory to his letter-press material. Dr. Phillips states that he was not always able to determine the authenticity of the material. Mrs. Granville Stuart denies any responsibility in the matter. This writer feels that Stuart did not authorize a written statement for publication prior to the death of the participants.

Other central Montana papers supported the Vigilantes. The MINERAL ARGUS, then published at Maiden, only a few miles from the large Davis-Hauser-Stuart ranch, known as the DHS, or D-S, did not report detailed incidents, but stated editorially: "The most speedy and safe cure is to hang them as fast as captured." The ROCKY MOUNTAIN HUSBANDMAN published articles by James Fergus defending the stockmen, and its highly respected editors, John Vrooman and R. N. Sutherlin, gave vigorous support.

To one writer who made an extensive study of the conditions, the situation appeared serious:

Isolated ranches, continually at the mercy of outlaws and rustlers, lived in daily fear of losing their stock and even life itself. No "nester" out of sight of his horses and cattle, could feel reasonably certain that he still possessed them. Some found it advisable to sleep in mangers of their stables, rifles in hand to protect their horses. The region was losing heart under the curse of organized hordes of outlaws, against which the established agencies of law were well-nigh powerless.

The cattlemen, from purely selfish reasons, stepped into the breach and, becoming both prosecutor and judge, disregarded the law's prior claims against individuals and wiped the docket clean. There was no appeal. A few outlaws escaped, perhaps, but none returned.²

Another writer felt that the disorder in Central Montana was part of a larger situation: "There were countless small bands which operated in Western Dakota, Eastern Montana, and North-eastern Wyoming, each loosely organized as a unit, yet all bound together in the tacit fellowship of outlawry."³

The interviews of this writer with cowpunchers of '84, who were then in the relatively disinterested position of foreman or riders, all bear out the view that the conditions were such as to have forced the stockmen off the range, unless drastic action was taken.

The desperado group arose out of the changing conditions of the time. Prior to 1880, residents of Central Montana relied almost entirely for a living upon trading with the Indians, trapping, wolfing, cutting wood for steamers operating along the Missouri River, and upon occasional hunting parties. When stockmen took over the country and the railroads replaced the steamers, considerable adjustment in employment was necessary. Another factor arose from the "tinhorn" gamblers who came to the Judith mines. This mining boom "burst" at about the same time other changes were being made with great rapidity. The conflict in the area is partially explained, at least, by the changed mode of living, of business, and the emergence of a new community.

² Fred Ojers in *Great Falls Tribune*, Sept. 26, 1926. See also his other articles, Sept. 19, and Oct. 3, 1926.

³ Herman Hagedorn, *Roosevelt in the Badlands*, (New York, 1921) p. 139.

The widely scattered population of Central Montana in 1884 centered around Maiden, a mining village in the Judith Mountains, then suffering from its first boom, and Lewistown, also a small village of log shacks, a few saloons and business houses straggling along a diagonal road through Spring Creek Valley.

Stockmen had gradually established ranches until most of the best locations had been taken. The Missouri River from the mouth of the Musselshell River to the Judith River, flowed through spectacular badland gorges, a miniature Grand Canyon, from six to eight hundred feet deep. The bottoms were still inhabited by remnants of a past civilization masquerading as Indian traders, buffalo hunters, and steamboat woodchoppers, but, in fact, depending for a living on trading in stolen livestock and the illegitimate sale of whiskey to the Indians. Practically every bottom along the river was occupied. At the mouth of the Musselshell was a "squaw man" trader, Billy Downes, who formerly had a good reputation among his creditors for having paid up a partnership account in which his partners had stolen the funds, but who had, through circumstances, resorted to trading with well-known thieves for a living.

At Rocky Point, later known as Wilder, there was a trading post, consisting of two saloons, a few business places, a steamboat landing, and a telegraph line to Fort Maginnis, an army post on the east flank of the Judith Mountains. It was also an unloading place and shipping point for Fort Assiniboine, and, at times, Fort Benton. Rocky Point was reported to be a headquarters for outlaws and thieves in 1883. On the river northeast of the present town of Winifred, and a few miles above the present Power Plant Ferry, was Cow Island, used for the unloading of steamers in low water for shipment by bull team to Fort Benton. At the mouth of Judith River was the post office Clagget or Judith Landing. On Crooked Creek was a resort run by "Dutch" Louis Meyers and his gang.

This section was the last stand of the buffalo and the Indian trading post and the life and civilization that existed prior to the coming of the stockmen. To this section migrated the worst element in the plains region from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada. Organized in efficient, arrogant gangs, these deperadoes would steal horses, take them to location on the Missouri River bottoms in the badlands, work over the brands, and then dispose of them in other sections, often in Canada; and, in turn, bring stolen horses from Canada to dispose of in the States. They kept guards out day and night to warn against Vigilantes and officers. They often

used the "whiskey joints," as a nucleus for the location of their gang depredations.

The stockmen had developed a co-operative system of running stock on the range known as Roundup Associations. Each had a particular name and designation with boundaries. In the area under consideration the North Moccasin Range consisted of that territory north of the North Moccasin and Judith Mountains, east of the Judith River, and extended to the Missouri River. The Maginnis Range was that territory east of the Judith Mountains, and south of the Missouri River to the Musselshell. These two associations generally worked together, although constituting separate Roundup Associations.⁴

The Vigilante raids opened in Central Montana in 1884. The first incident was the hanging of the breed, Sam McKenzie, a well-known horse thief, at Fort Maginnis, by Reece Anderson and assistants, on July 3rd.⁵ On July 4th, at Lewistown, occurred the killing of two desperadoes, not by Vigilantes, but by local citizens. This event illustrates the desperate characters that infested Central Montana at that time. The two desperadoes, "Rattlesnake Jake" Fallon and Charles "Longhair" Owen, appeared at the celebration dressed in buckskin suits and armed to the teeth. Without provocation, except a quarrel over a horse race, they attempted to fight it out with the citizens. A gun battle ensued in the streets of the little town, in which the two desperadoes, fighting gamely to the finish, were finally riddled with bullets and killed. One citizen was killed.

An important outcome of the Lewistown affair was the wide and accurate reporting by the press. This led to a quick exodus of numerous bad men. This exodus in turn led to much unfounded gossip concerning numerous killings which never happened. About forty years later, one of these men, Bill Burns, came back and lived in Lewistown until his death. He often joked about his sudden leave in 1884.

One of the boldest steals was of some twenty horses, including a valuable stallion, belonging to the Powers Brothers, from

⁴ Robert S. Fletcher, "The Organization of the Range Cattle Business in Eastern Montana," Montana State College Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 265, (1932).

⁵ Materials for this paper came from many personal interviews and extensive research. The Granville Stuart letter-press is important. The original is in Yale University, a microfilm copy is in Montana Historical Library. The writer is indebted to C. B. Worthen, now of Missoula, for access to considerable James Fergus correspondence, including a diary from July 7 to August 3, 1884. Additional information came from such sources as Teddy Blue Abbott, son-in-law of Stuart, Charles Stuart, his son; William R. Woods, former sheriff of Fergus County, George W. Cook of Lewistown, and William Burnett, the last survivor of the Vigilantes. A reporter, Rufus F. Zogbaum, was a witness of the aftermath of the raids while on a steamboat trip from Fort Benton to Fort Peck. See his *Horse, Foot and Dragons*, (New York, 1888), pp. 141-176. This chapter also appeared in "With the Blue-Coats on the Border" in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 72, 849-869, May, 1886.

their range near the North Moccasin Mountains. The ranch was operated by Henry Brooks, a German. On their way down the Missouri River, the thieves often stopped in the saloon at Rocky Point, operated by Melton F. Marsh. Marsh had a wife and family and bore a good reputation. The stockmen hit upon the idea of paying Marsh \$50.00 per month to relay information he could obtain from the roistering outlaws. This arrangement was continued for at least a year.⁶

The thieves who stopped at Marsh's saloon were arrogant and brazen in their denunciation of the stockmen and dared the "Dutch S-B" (meaning Brooks) to come down there and get his horses. These facts were wired to Granville Stuart and no doubt had the effect of arousing the stockmen. It appears that about July 1, there was a general decision that action must be taken against these thieves. Stuart sent for A. W. (Gus) Adams, a stock inspector and detective, located at Miles City, to assist them. Adams was efficient, and well acquainted with the thieves and desperadoes, and their badland hideouts. He was the only outsider participating in the raids.

On July 7th, the Moccasin Association sent out four men from the Fergus ranch: Andrew Fergus, John Single, Jack Tabor, and J. L. Stuart. Andrew Fergus kept a diary, which provides the record for this incident. They went as a separate unit to a place below Rocky Point. Three well known thieves: "Dutch" Louis Meyers, Brocky Gallagher, and "Red Mike," got information of their coming and escaped across the river to the Little Rockies, leaving horses and equipment behind which belonged to Meyers. The description of this event in Granville Stuart's FORTY YEARS ON THE FRONTIER leads one to believe that these men were caught and hanged. The evidence is unanimous that this is not true. An attempt was made in the following October to arrest them at which time "Floppin' Bill' Cantrell, then a stock inspector, and his party were sent to the Little Rockies for that purpose, but this was prevented by the miners.⁷ The evidence presented shows that the property was taken care of by the Vigilantes for some two years, and accumulated considerable charges. It seems that Meyers was afraid to come back after the property⁸ and the authorities did not have sufficient evidence to convict him.⁹

⁶ Granville Stuart to Henry Seiben, August 14, 1885, reported expenses of the raid, including payments to Marsh.

⁷ Stuart to A. W. Adams, Miles City, Oct. 8, 1884, reported the Little Rockies Expedition and named its members.

⁸ Meyers to James Fergus timidly asking that the stock be turned back to him and to no one else.

⁹ Stuart to James Fergus, April 23, 1885.

The Fergus Diary shows that the party wandered about in the area until by means of a wired order to Marsh and a messenger they were diverted to another Vigilance party which they met on Crooked Creek, six miles above the mouth of the Musselshell, on July 15th.¹⁰ There were then fourteen men in the party.

About the same time that the Moccasin party left, July 7, 1884, another party was sent down on the river by Granville Stuart. This was under the direction of William Burnett, and included Reece Anderson, A. W. (Gus) Adams and Lynn Patterson. Burnett described this expedition briefly: "A man and a boy rode into the ranch from Pease Bottom" on the Yellowstone and told Mr. Stuart he had had fifty head of horses stolen and that he had trailed them to the mouth of the Musselshell on the Missouri River and with field glasses had seen his horses in a corral and five men who looked to be branding them. Granville sent for me to come to his office and told me to take what men I wanted and go down and get the horses. 'If you find the horses belonging to this man which have been stolen, use your own judgment in dealing with the thieves and I will be back of anything you do.' We went in on them at daylight one morning. They had a lookout scouting around (California Jack); he saw us about the time we saw him and he rode to give the alarm. A boy named Lynn Patterson and myself was on good horses so we headed him off, told him to unbuckle and drop his arms on the ground—I noticed he was riding a Pioneer Cattle Company horse. The four other men were in the cabin asleep. The horses were in the corral. Their brands had been burned out but the man and boy said that they were their horses—they should have known because they had driven them all the way up from Nevada. They took them and was well pleased."

The men took no chances with the four men in the cabin—pistol shots, and the struggle was over. The boy and his father were sent away rejoicing over their horses. They then hanged their captured victim, "California Jack." He was identified by the detective, Gus Adams, as an escaped criminal with a \$10,000 reward offered for him. Adams wanted to hold him for the reward but Burnett refused to take chances, and he was blindfolded, hands tied, put on a horse with a rope about his neck and over the limb of a cottonwood tree. A pistol shot, the crack of a whip, and the victim was left hanging. The location of this incident is on the Missouri River bottom, just a short distance above the mouth of the Musselshell River.

¹⁰ Andrew Fergus Diary, July 13-15,, 1884.

¹¹ Located at the mouth of the Bighorn River.

Just below this location, at the mouth of the Musselshell, was a trading post kept by William Downes. That evening, Reece Anderson, with a few of the party, and against the will of William Burnett, called on Downes. What happened is best described in a letter written by a brother, C. E. Downes, of Fort Benton, to James Fergus: "Now, it appears, when they went to my brother's, they said he had horses belonging to them and he told them, if so, to take them, but he got them honestly in trade. Now, they, as we have been informed, took them and rode off, but returned again, endeavoring to persuade him to go with as guide, but he still refused. They returned the third time when they compelled him to go, as we have been told, riding off as one of themselves, since which time we have not heard a word of him." He had received this information from Downes' squaw wife, who was at the place at the time and witnessed it. Another account of the incident appeared in the RIVER PRESS of July 23, 1884, reported by Captain Todd and other officers and passengers of the steamboat "Bachelor." This account lists two casualties: "Billy Downes and Charley Owens were certainly among the victims. Sixteen men came to the former's place below the Musselshell in the afternoon, and finding a number of horses they knew, picked them out and took them some distance, returning soon afterwards. They remained until evening when they "invited" Downes and Owens to accompany them, which they did, of course. They never returned and the plain inference is that they were hanged."

This incident caused a flood of criticism and was the only one that was really damaging to the stockmen. On his return, William Burnett reported the hanging as unjustified. Downes was no doubt dealing in stolen property but was largely a victim of circumstances. Garnville Stuart condemned the action severely and refused to allow Anderson to accompany the Bates Point Expedition.

On their way back to the DHS ranch the party met a man who introduced himself as William Cantrell. He asked to join them, stating that he wanted to see Granville Stuart. To Stuart he reported that there was a large party of thieves at Bates Point, also known as the James Woodyard, and that they had about 100 head of stolen horses. He had been a woodchopper, and was not in sympathy with the thieving, and offered his assistance since he knew the renegades and their methods. This man was to become well known as "Floppin' Bill Cantrell." Stuart gave immediate orders to gather a party to go after the thieves, and the stolen horses. Word was also sent to the Moccasin party through

Marsh at Rocky Point. This party left the DHS ranch on the morning of the 12th of July, 1884."¹²

The two parties met on July 15th, as prearranged. Bates Point or the James Woodyard was located on the north side of the Missouri River some twenty miles below the mouth of the Musselshell. The buildings consisted of a dirt-roofed log cabin with portholes and a horse stable connected by a corral containing horses. Some distance from the house was a crude tent where some of the thieves slept. The bottom was covered with cottonwood trees, thickets of rye grass, willows, and shrubbery. On the 17th, the scouts were sent down to locate the guards which were known to be posted. During the night of the 19th and in the early morning of the 20th, the whole party approached the rendezvous of the thieves, avoiding the two guards, who were the James boys, cousins of the Jesse James outfit of Missouri. These two boys, on their coming back to headquarters in the morning discovered the Vigilantes who had surrounded the camp. In order to warn the occupants, they started shooting, and yelled: "The S—B— Stranglers have got us surrounded!" Immediately, the thieves came out of the tent and the cabin, startled and dumbfounded, and the battle began. Old Man James was ordered to turn the horses out, which he did, but he refused to surrender. The two boys were killed. The men in the tent were soon riddled with bullets, but most of them escaped, though wounded, and they were not followed by the Vigilantes. They built a raft and floated down the Missouri River, but some of them were captured at Poplar.

During the latter part of the battle, two of the most daring members of the Vigilantes, Lynn Patterson and Jack Tabor, crawled to the back of the cabin and stable, protected by the constant fire of the entrenched remainder of the group and set fire to the buildings. They were burned down and completely destroyed. From the best information, there were about twelve thieves at the rendezvous at the beginning of the battle." The Vigilantes left the scene about two o'clock in the afternoon, after securing possession of the horses.

On the morning of the 23rd, five of the party returned to the DHS ranch with the captured horses. Stuart made the ride in one day, 65 miles, leaving the leadership to "Floppin' Bill' Cantrell. Stuart left by stage for Helena to attend the first Montana Stock-growers Association meeting a few days later. He was elected

¹² Stuart to stockman, Fred E. Lawrence, July 11, 1884.

¹³ Defense of the raid by James Fergus in *Rocky Mountain Husbandman*.

president at that meeting, and acted as such until the consolidated meeting at Miles City in '85."

When Granville Stuart arrived at the DHS, he reported the escape of some of the thieves to the Deputy U. S. Marshall, Sam Fischel, and the officers at Fort Maginnis. Thieves had stolen Government horses and attempted a holdup of the Fort payroll, and thus secured the enmity of the military. By means of the telegraph operated from the Fort to Rocky Point and Poplar, four of the wounded thieves were located at Poplar and held for the authorities.¹⁵

The Marshall deputized Reece Anderson, and members of he Vigilantes who returned with the horses, all DHS riders, to go with him after the captured thieves. On their return, while camped for the night on the Musselshell River near its mouth, they were relieved of their captives by a party which hanged them. The Andrew Fergus Diary reports that Cantrell and Detective Adams left the party before this incident occurred. To this day no one who was present at the hanging has been willing to associate the Marshall or his deputies with it. Available information points toward giving some RL riders, then in the lower Musselshell, responsibility for the affair. Members of the party went down to the Woodyard where they found and buried three bodies. There was evidence of others having been badly wounded, but no additional thieves were found.

A check on many sources indicate that the following is a complete list of the members of the party in the Woodyard fight: Granville Stuart, Bill Cantrell ("Floppin' Bill"), Jim Hibbs, Lynn Patterson, Bill Clark, Jack Ludich or Ludvig, Charlie Pettit, Butch Starley, John Single, J. L. Suart, Andrew Fergus, Gus Adams, Jack Tabor, and William Burnett.

Granville Stuart, just before his death, left a brief statement in his handwriting giving a list of the men in the party. He named Pete Proctor and Frank M. Headly as members. Pete Proctor, alias "Prickly Pear" Pete, was one of the "river rats" and was with the party, no doubt, to give information, and he was put on the steamboat and shipped out to protect him from the other gangsters.¹⁶

Frank M. Headly later became a prominent attorney and judge at Seattle, Washington. Burnett did not think he was a member of the party at the Woodyard fight. He was a member

¹⁵ Robert S. Fletcher, *opus citra*.

¹⁶ Pioneer Press, August 21, 1884, and Zogbaum, *op cit*.

¹⁷ Stuart to T. J. Bryan, Oct. 22, 1886, also Charles Stuart to writer.

of the group deputized to go after "Dutch" Louis Meyers to the Little Rocky Mountains under the leadership of "Floppin' Bill" Cantrell."

A storm of protest arose mainly from people who had no interest in livestock. Confidential talks with twenty to thirty persons reveal that outside of a few business men at Fort Benton, most of the criticism came from those ignorant of the real facts, or from the non-property class. Under the circumstances, it was very difficult for the stockmen to answer these criticisms, largely based on fictitious incidents and assertions with no facts to back them up. James Fergus came to the defense of the Vigilantes by articles which appeared in the papers published at that time.

James Fergus, while not participating in the raids, was very active in the movement. Granville Stuart and he were two of the leading citizens of Montana, and highly respected by their close associates for their loyalty and integrity. The writer was intimately acquainted with John Single, J. L. Stuart, Andrew Fergus, and William Burnett. They were men of integrity, and character, and bore an excellent reputation. Lynn Patterson was a bright, daring young man from the East. Will Clark was from one of Montana's best families, and later became a Stock Inspector. Jim Hibbs became one of Lewistown's respected citizens. Jack Ludich, or Ludwig, Charles Pettit, and Butch Starley were known as reliable punchers who happened to be employed at the DHS at the time. There were no hired gunmen or outsiders. "Floppin' Bill" Cantrell, after he joined with the Vigilantes in the early part of July, 1884, proved to be a very reliable, efficient, and fearless Stock Inspector.

Many stories were current that Cantrell was a leader of Vigilantes in Eastern Montana and in the badlands of North Dakota. The testimony of the stockmen supports Granville Stuart's letterpress which indicates that he was a Stock Inspector in the 1884-1886 period in Central Montana. The fiction that Cantrell was a killer was useful in discouraging depredations. The only participant who appears to have ever had a criminal record was Jack Tabor, who was convicted of killing a sheepherder in later years in a drunken quarrel. Granville Stuart succeeded in obtaining a pardon for him.

Rumors have persisted that the stockmen killed scores of innocent men, many of them for ulterior purposes. A reasonable explanation for these appeared in an article of the Montana Newspaper Association in 1934 by Al H. Wilkins. A reputable citizen, Wilkins lived at Fort Benton from 1874 to 1885, and freighted over

¹⁷ Stuart, Oct. 8, 1884, *opus citra*.

the area under discussion. He gives specific incidents of men being murdered, and concludes that the river desperadoes were responsible.

During the summer of 1883 there was a gang posing as cowboy vigilantes who shot and hung several woodchoppers on the Missouri after they had sold their wood cut for the season. This was one place where a little money was dangerous, even to an honest man. After a true vigilante committee was formed in the different camps and on the Missouri River, the counterfeits found it safer to hunt for other parts.

As to the character of the men killed by the Vigilantes, the evidence is not conclusive. The accounts appearing in the papers at the time were probably cautiously and factually written and the most reliable. These indicate that most of the desperadoes had criminal records. The PIONEER PRESS of August 21, 1884, names Johnnie Owens, Swift Bill, Cy Nicherson, Phelps, and Eugene Burr as the five wounded thieves from the Bates fight.

Stuart's letter-press reveals that the stockmen exchanged evidence on well-known characters under suspicion. William Burnett stated that, of the five men hanged near the mouth of the Musselshell, only one, "California Jack," was known and identified. He had a criminal record. The men at Bates Point or James Woodyard, were all guilty with the probable exception of Old Man James. The Vigilantes offered to save his life but he refused to surrender. Stuart's FORTY YEARS ON THE FRONTIER is in error in naming as victims of the Woodyard fight, Frank Hanson, who was a known thief, but who was either not present or escaped. Bill Williams was also named, but he was not present. He was a reputable man and furnished the Vigilantes with dinner on July 21, the day after the fight.¹⁸ While the evidence is not satisfactory, it points toward all of the victims being well-known thieves except Downes and Old Man James. There is little doubt that they were conniving with thieves.

There is little evidence of a centrally planned Vigilante Movement. While no doubt the Stock Association Meeting at Miles City in April 1884, passed the word out to make war on the thieves, the actual action taken was by separate, isolated groups in response to depredations and thieving taking place in their particular section. The Vigilante groups were loosely formed by stockmen and their cowpunchers and generally on the spur of the moment. There is absolutely no evidence that there were any hired killers used, or that any additional compensation was offered for that hazardous service. Gossip has been persistent that

¹⁸ Charles Stuart, *opus citra*, indicates that Bill Williams was an old friend of Granville Stuart.

the large stockmen took advantage of the roundup of thieves to get rid of the small nester stockmen. Persistent effort to secure evidence of such acts, has, so far, turned up nothing to even point toward such a conclusion in Central Montana.

There is only one conclusion to be drawn from the evidence produced, and that is that the organized raids against the thieves in 1884 were engineered by the stockmen and the Stockmen's Association of Montana. The evidence shows that the stockmen contributed to financing the raids,¹⁹ and later, in 1887, the State Association paid the balance of the costs, amounting to almost \$5,000.00.²⁰

The horses taken on the raids were, so far as possible, returned to the owners, and the Stuart letters show that there were many inquiries to which he gave full information in regard to the horses captured. Charles Stuart definitely remembers that the Canadian Mounted Police came down to the ranch to pick up some seven or eight horses carrying their brand on the hoofs. In each of the parties, there being four in all, a regular Deputy Stock Inspector was present, and in one instance the Deputy United States Marshal. In case of an attempted prosecution, they could claim the defense that they were all regularly appointed and deputized officers.

The Stuart letter-press reveals that he openly discussed the facts with many prominent stockmen. He reported to Secretary R. B. Harrison the horses taken from the thieves in the raids so that Harrison could assist in finding the owners. James Fergus collected funds from all the stockmen, even the sheepmen, in the Moccasin Range, to help pay the expenses of the raids. The leading newspapers of Montana openly advocated contribution of funds for the cause. Some of the prominent members were Ex-Governor B. F. Potts, Sec. R. B. Harrison (son of President Benjamin Harrison) and Theodore Roosevelt. A roll call would include most of the prominent citizens of Montana at that time.

An illustration of the sentiment of the responsible people of the time is to be found in the first meeting of the Montana Stockgrowers Association held in Helena in late July, 1884. Granville Stuart hurried from the Woodyard fight to attend this meeting. Certainly his being named first president of the Association was not a vote of censure for his activities. In September of the same year, James Fergus, who was the strongest public defender of

¹⁹ The James Fergus books and letters reveal an open correspondence for the collection of funds to pay for the raids, and show contributions by practically all the stockmen in the Missouri and Musselshell River areas.

²⁰ *Lewistown Daily*, April 30, 1930, at the time of the meeting of the Montana Stockgrowers Association at Lewistown.

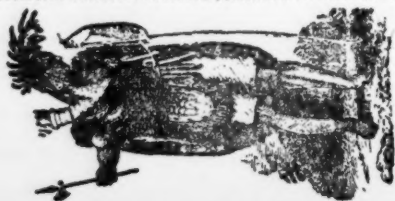
the Vigilantes, was elected as the first president of the Montana Pioneers Society. When a new county was established on March 1, 1885, both houses of the Legislative Assembly unanimously voted to name it Fergus County after James Fergus.

Summing up the facts, the DHS raids were responsible for the death of a minimum of 15 men, with a maximum of 18, during 1884. They had no part in the killing of the two desperadoes at Lewistown, or the two Breeds at or near the mouth of the Judith River, or in the raids conducted in other parts of Montana or Dakota. The movement in Central Montana ended with the hanging of the captured thieves about August 1, 1884. From then on, the Stock Inspectors took over the job of enforcing the laws, and peace descended upon the range in Central Montana.

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THE FLATHEAD-SALISH INDIAN NAME IN MONTANA NOMENCLATURE

By Albert J. Partoll

In the history of far western exploration and fur trade days, and continuing to the present time, the name of Flathead as identifying a certain tribe of Indians has often lead to misunderstanding and misinterpretation. The name as applied to the Flathead-Salish Indians of the present western Montana, is sometimes mistaken to imply an origin of ethnic head deformation; while in reality the tribe officially bearing this name did not deform their heads. A study in nomenclature reveals that the Flatheads, here considered, were also known as the Salish and Tushpaw; and that each appellation was well grounded in tribal significance of long ago.

Within the journals of early day explorers, fur traders, travelers and visitors in the Pacific Northwest appears the name of "Flathead," as applied to Indians of the interior Rocky Mountains. This reference is directly to the Flathead-Salish of the present western Montana. The name also appears as designating certain Indians along the Pacific coast, who were incorrectly so called because of some ethnic feature or characteristic. Along the coast were the Chinook and Clatsop Indians who practiced mutilation upon the foreheads of their infants, which resulted in "peaked heads." The effect of placing an infant in a frame which induced such a malformation later gave the tribal adults a distinct appearance, which for want of better terminology lead to a generalized designation of Flathead, when in reality "peaked head" was the proper term.

Flathead as applied to this practice among the Chinooks and Clatsops meant head deformation. The reason for this ethnic mutilation was that it set the practitioners apart in a supposed class of aristocracy and distinguished them from other Indians, especially those whom they had enslaved from other tribes. Picturesque and descriptive illustrations by early explorers of this aboriginal technique, of alleged beautification, had a strong tendency to influence popular misinterpretation of the "Flathead" term. Illustrations of heads in process of "peaking" not "flattening" as well as the erroneous attachment of the label of "Flat-

heads" lead to widespread and strongly entrenched conceptions that Flathead was synonymous with head deformity.¹

One of the most widely circulated accounts describing this unique idea of attractiveness is contained in Washington Irving's *ASTORIA*, Chapter 10, of the Philadelphia edition of 1836. The account reads: "A singular custom prevails, not merely among the Chinooks, but among most of the tribes about this part of the coast, which is flattening of the forehead. The process by which this deformity is affected commences immediately after birth. The infant is laid in a wooden trough, by way of cradle. The end on which the head reposes is higher than the rest. A paddling is placed on the head of the infant, with a piece of bark above it, and is pressed down by cords, which pass through holes on each side of the trough. As the tightening of the paddling and pressing of the head is gradual, the process is said not to be attended with much pain. The appearance of the infant, however, while in this state of compression, is whimsically hideous, and 'its little black eyes,' we are told, 'being forced out by the tightness of the bandages, resembles those of a mouse choked in a trap.'

"About a year's pressure is sufficient to product the desired effect, at the end of which time the child emerges from the bandage a complete flathead, and continues so for life. It must be noted, however, that this flattening of the head has something in its aristocratical significance, like the crippling of the feet of the Chinese ladies of quality. At any rate it is a sign of freedom. No slave is permitted to bestow this enviable deformity upon his child; all slaves therefore are round heads."

Since in literature the implication of ethnic mutilation was associated with the name of "Flathead," it is not surprising that the one tribe bearing the title of Flathead as a proper name should have their name misunderstood, since they did not deform their heads. Washington Irving, in Chapter 3, of the edition cited, was aware of the tribe of Flatheads proper and states: "The Flatheads in question are not to be confounded with those of the name who dwell on the lower waters of the Columbia; neither do they flatten their heads as the others do. They inhabit the banks of a river on the west side of the mountains, and are described as simple, honest and hospitable."

¹ For graphic illustrations and descriptions see: George Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners and Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians*, (2 vols., London, 1841). Same author, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indian*, (2 vols., New York and London, 1844); Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America*, (London, 1859); Otis T. Mason, "Cradles of American Aborigines," in the *Report of the National Museum for 1887*, (Washington, D. C., 1888); Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838-1842*, (5 vols., Philadelphia, 1844), IV, p. 388.

That the name of Flathead was subject to speculation as to its meaning is evidenced by the notation made by John K. Townsend, who in 1832 met these Indians. He noted in his observations on Western Indians that "The tribe called Flatheads, or Salish, who reside near the sources of the Oregon have long abolished this custom." Another observer, W. A. Ferris, who resided with these Indians at various times between 1830 to 1835, states in his account: "The Flatheads probably derive their name from an ancient practice of shaping or deforming their head during infancy, by compressing it between boards placed on the forehead and back part, though not one living proof of the existence at any time of that practice can now be found among them. They call themselves . . . 'Salish' . . ." Neither Townsend nor Ferris found justification for the name hence concluded that these Indians had ceased head deformation, although there was no evidence to show that they ever had this custom.²

Uncertainty if not confusion persisted in explaining the term Flathead as used in identifying the Salish and resulted in theories worthy of mention. The Reverend Samuel Parker who met the Flathead-Salish at the fur trade rendezvous at Green River (in the present Wyoming) August 12, 1835, noted in his account: "I was disappointed to see nothing peculiar in the shape of the head of the Flathead Indians to give them their name. Who gave them this name, or for what reason, is not known. Some suppose it was given them in derision for not flattening their heads, as the Chinooks and some other nations do, near the shores of the Pacific." Further in his account he describes the Chinook process of head deformation. A similar opinion is expressed by James Mooney in later years, and in effect states that the Flatheads were so called in derision of the fact that they did not deform their heads, in contrast to those who did, since the heads of the Flathead-Salish were left natural.³

Another theory, traceable to the writing of George M. Dawson in "Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia," states: "The Salish proper, as is well known, were originally designated the 'Flatheads,' though not in the habit of artificially deforming the cranium. When first discovered by the Canadian voyageurs, slaves from tribes of the coast, where the head was

² John K. Townsend, *Journey across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River*, (Philadelphia, 1839), reproduced in *Early Western Travels: 1748-1846*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, (33 vols., Cleveland, 1904-1907), XXI, pp. 303-304; W. A. Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains . . . 1830-1835*, edited by Paul C. Phillips, (Denver, 1940), p. 88. This volume has copious material on the Flatheads or Salish proper.

³ Samuel Parker, *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains . . . 1835-37*, (Ithaca, N. Y., 1838), p. 75. For notation on Mooney see next footnote.

usually deformed, were found among them." This information was supplied to Dawson by J. W. MacKay, Indian Agent at Kamloops, and later incorporated into the *HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIANS* (B.A.E. Bulletin 30) under the Dawson citation.⁴

In the light of historical evidence the opinions of the Rev. Parker, and Mr. Mooney are worthy of consideration, yet further investigation of this interesting subject appears to be warranted. The Dawson version offers a theory not to be regarded as factually conclusive. The designation of Flathead as applied to the Salish, antedates the coming of the voyageurs to the region, and hence was not based upon the presence of the "peak heads" among them as discovered by the voyageurs; and further the Flatheads did not customarily (if ever) take slaves. It would appear that the origin of Dawson's explanation was largely influenced by hearsay testimony requiring additional clarification.

Ross Cox, who visited the homeland of the Flatheads or Salish in 1813, records in his adventures on the Columbia: "I could not discover why the Black-feet and the Flatheads received their respective designations; for the feet of the former are no more inclined to be sable than any other part of the body, while the heads of the latter possess their share proportion of rotundity. Indeed it is only below the falls that the real flat-heads appear, and at the mouth of the Columbia that they flourish supernaturally." It is evident that Cox expected to see some physical justification for the respective Indian names.⁵

Long before the advent of the white man into the Rocky Mountains of the Pacific Northwest, it was customary for the various Indian tribes to engage in sign language pantomime in exchanging information with other Indians, whose language they did not understand. Sign language, while limited in many ways for extensive "conversation," was sufficient for tribal identification and the conveyance of essential facts. Tribes like the Black-feet, Crows, Gros Ventres and others had a sign which identified them; this was their tribal signature. So also the Flatheads or

⁴George M. Dawson, "Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia," *Proc. and Trans. Royal Soc. of Canada*, IX, Sec. II, (Montreal, 1892), p. 6; James Mooney, in *The American Anthropologist*, July, 1889, (New York, 1899), New Series, 1, p. 140; Frederick W. Hodges, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, (2 vols., Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology), (Washington, D. C., 1910), part 1, p. 465.

⁵Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia including the Narrative of Six Years on the Rocky Mountains, 1811-17*, (2 vols., London, 1831), I, p. 128. Another contemporary source of information is contained in, Gabriel Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast, 1811-1814*, (Huntington Translation from the French), (New York, 1854), reprinted in Thwaites Edition of *Early Western Travels*, VI, (Cleveland 1904). Franchère calls the tribe here considered "Flathead" and "Salish," and mentions that along the lower Columbia slavery exists and that the slaves of the Indians practicing head deformation, are not permitted to deform their heads. Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River, 1810-1813*, (London 1849), and by the same author, *Fur Hunters of the Far West*, (2 vols., London, 1855), calls these Indians the Selish or Flathead.

Salish had a tribal sign, the translation of which meant "Flat Head" or natural head. As a rule the tribal sign portrayed some special tribal attribute, physical characteristic, ornamentation or individuality. The name of Blackfeet was not due to the coloration of the feet but was rather a translation of black moccasin, their identity in the sign language, made by touching the foot and giving the sign for black, or with the finger and thumb encircle the ankle. The Gros Ventre had a sign, made with appropriate movement, allegedly meaning Big Belly. The Crows identified themselves by waving the hands to show a bird in flight; the Flathead-Salish designated themselves by patting the head with their right hand to show that the head was natural.⁶



The Flathead-Salish Indians of the Frontier Rocky Mountains, later Western Montana, were called "Flathead" in translation of their tribal sign, which meant natural head, signifying that there was no implication of physical mutilation. Chief Tendo of the Shoshones is shown demonstrating the sign in 1880. He was of the same people as Sacajawea the Indian woman guide of the Lewis and Clark expedition. (See text and footnote 6.)

⁶ W. P. Clark, *The Indian Sign Language*, (Philadelphia, 1885), pp. 174-179, gives this sign for the Flatheads or Salish and quotes Father Anthony Ravalli, S. J., from whom he personally obtained the information. Father Ravalli came to the Flatheads in 1842, and stated to Clark that the Flatheads never deformed their heads. Chief Michelle, of the Pend d'Oreilles gave like testimony to Clark regarding the Flatheads. Garrick Mallory, "Sign Language among North American Indians," in *First Ann. Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, (Washington, 1881), has this tribal sign demonstrated (Figure 291, page 468) by Tendo, a Shoshone Indian, who came to Washington, D. C., in 1880; Mallory also cites a letter from J. W. Powell, Indian Superintendent of British Columbia, giving this as the Kutine (Kutenai) sign for the Flatheads.

Worthy of mention in connection with the sign language is the observation that "peaked heads," (Chinook and Clatsop), might be misidentified by the uninformed from misunderstanding of the tribal sign given by other Indians, who designated them by "one hand placed on top of the head, and the other on back of the head," suggesting a peaked head as distinguished from a natural head.

The tribal sign here is definitely for the "peaked heads." It is reported in the notes of Major S. H. Long, and was erroneously included with those for the Flathead-Salish in the compilation by Garrick Mallory. Failure to distinguish between the "peaked heads" and the Flatheads or Salish, also appears in the narrative of James O. Pattie for June 1826. Mallory, *opus citra*, p. 468; Edwin James, *Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, 1819-1820*, . . . from the Notes of Major S. H. Long, and Others, (London, 1823), Reprinted in *Early Western Travels*, Thwaites Edition, cited, XV, p. 336; James O. Pattie, *Personal Narrative During an Expedition from St. Louis, . . . 1824-1827*, (Cincinnati, 1831), Reprinted in *Early Western Travels*, Thwaites Edition, cited, XVIII, p. 141; Overton Johnson and William H. Winter, *Route across the Rocky Mountains*, Annotated by Carl L. Cannon, (Reprint of the Lafayette, Ind., edition of 1886, by Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1932), p. 63-64.



Typical process of "peaking" the head of an infant, as was the custom of the Chinook and Clatsop Indians along the Pacific Northwest coast. This ethnic mutilation sometimes led to referring to the "peaked-heads" as the Coast Flatheads, since the forehead was flattened by pressure. This deformity continued through life. (Catlin, 1841 — See text and footnote 1.)

The journal of Antoine F. Larocque for 1805 is enlightening as to the use of tribal signs, and their interpretations. The passage reads in reference to the sign language employed by the Crows: "They represent a Sioux by passing the edge of their hand across their neck, a Panis [Pawnee] by showing large ears; a Flathead by pressing with both hands on each side of the head."

As to the habitat of the Indians he calls Flathead, he states: "The Flatheads inhabit the western side of the Rocky Mountains at the heads of the rivers that have a southerly course and flow into the western ocean. The ridge of mountains that parts these waters from the Missouri can be crossed in two days and no more mountains are found to the coast. They come every fall to the fort of the Missouri or thereabout to kill buffaloes, of which there are none on across the range of mountains, dress robes and dry meat with which they returned as soon as winter set in. They have deers of various kinds on their lands and beaver with which they make themselves robes, but they prefer buffaloes. They have a great many horses which they sell for a trifle and give many for nothing."

At the time of making his observations in the summer of 1805 Larocque was on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains in the Yellowstone river district. His statement has significance in that it identifies the residence of the Flatheads and gives a variation of their tribal sign by the Crow Indians, which translated meant Flathead. The journal, being in French, has the "Tetes Plates" term for Flatheads.

¹ Antoine Francois Larocque, *Journal de Larocque, 1805*, Edited by Lawrence J. Burpee, (Ottawa, 1911), pp. 75-76. The journal is in French.

In historical significance the Lewis and Clark expedition was beyond parallel in revealing the hidden wonders of the great unknown region beyond the Rocky Mountains. The expedition took special cognizance of the Indians, and in the course of travel reached the ancestral home of the Flathead-Salish in the Bitter Root valley. Of this notable highlight in the history of this Indian nation, the advent of white men for the first time, the Journals of Lewis and Clark proper, and the respective Journals of Patrick Gass and John Ordway offer contemporary and comparative recording. The journals for September 4, 1805 mention no head deformation among these Indians, whom they call FLATHEAD, SALEES, AND TUSHEPAW. By some strange interpretation the word "EOOT-LASH-SCHUTE" also crept into the Journals of Lewis and Clark proper, and of Gass.⁸

The difficulty of conversing with the Flathead-Salish is revealed in the Ordway Journal, which records that speech with them had to go through several vocal languages, and the sign language as a supplement. Also noted is that they appeared to have an impediment of speech, or brogue on their tongue. George Drewyer, an interpreter and master of the sign language, and Sacajawea, a Shoshone Indian woman, who knew the Rocky Mountain territory and much about the Indians enroute, were entrusted with the task of supplying varied information on tribes met. An interesting account of how these explorers carried on conversation with Indians is related by Charles MacKenzie of the Northwest Company, who met the Lewis and Clark expedition in the Mandan country, to the east, in the spring of 1805. He narrates that "the woman [Sacajawea] who answered the purpose of wife to Charbonneau, was of the Serpent [Shoshone] nation and lately taken a prisoner by a war party. She understood a little Gros Ventres, in which she had to converse with her husband, who was a Canadian and did not understand English. A mulatto [York], who spoke French and worse English, served as interpreter to the Captains, so that a single word to be understood by the party required to pass from the natives to the woman, from the

⁸ Lewis and Clark, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, (8 vols., New York, 1904-5); Patrick Gass, *Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, (reprint of the edition of 1811), (Chicago, 1904); John Ordway, *Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway, Kept on the Western Expedition, 1803-1806*, Edited by M. M. Quail, (Wisconsin Historical Society Collection, XXII, Madison, 1916). Entries in the respective journals for Sept. 4, 1805 are: Lewis and Clark (Thwaites Ed.) vol. 3, p. 53; Gass Journal, p. 137; Ordway Journal, p. 281. Additional entries in the respective journals are also pertinent to nomenclature. For characteristics of the Flathead-Salish Indian language See Footnote 10.

woman to the husband, and from the husband to the mulatto, from the mulatto to the captains."⁹

The appellation of "Flathead" for these Indians resulted from translation of their identification in the sign language, and appears in each of the respective journals of the expedition. Descriptions by these explorers nowhere mention these Indians as being in any way different from others in physical perfection, since no head deformation is noted. Later when the expedition reached the coastal region, observations and recordings were made of the Chinooks and Clatsops who deformed the heads of their young. These Indians, the "peaked heads," were in a broad sense designated as Flatheads of the coast, by the explorers. When portions of the journals were published, in both authentic editions and the spurious or unauthorized editions, great confusion resulted in a misunderstanding of nomenclature.

"Salish" has been variously spelled in the early writings and has its origin in the name of the Flatheads for themselves. Its appearance in the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition is given as synonymous with Flatheads. In the immediate years after this expedition visited the home of the Flatheads, David Thompson, another explorer of note, made an extended sojourn among these same people and recorded their name as Flathead and "Saleesh." Respective journals and historical writings through the decades of the fur trade and later, make similar recordings as to the name of these Indians. Its pronunciation is "sary-lish," although the spelling may vary. Originally the names Salish and Salishan were limited to the Flatheads here under consideration; however the name Salishan as applied to linguistics, has been expanded to embrace those tribes speaking a language similar to that of the Flatheads or Salish.¹⁰

⁹ The MacKenzie statement is published in L. R. Mason, *Les Bourgeois de la Campagne du Nord-Ouest*, (2 vols., Quebec, 1889), I, p. 336. Father Lawrence B. Palladino, S. J., who came to the land of the Salish in 1867 and was fluent with this Indian language notes: "Among the many Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountains there is none more renowned than the Selish . . . commonly called Flat-Heads." Elsewhere he notes: "Their language is in many points original and difficult to master, its utterance is slow, tolerably clear and distinct, though some of its sounds are aspirated and others intensely guttural. Five of the consonants commonly heard in other tongues, that is, b, d, f, r and v, are wanting in theirs, and are supplied by p, t, l, and m. Thus, Adolph with them is Atol; Ambrose, Amelo; Raphael, Apel; Mary, Malee; Rosalie, Usailee; Victor, Mitt'io, etc., the accent in all these names falling on the last syllable and "ee" sounding as the Italian "i" in Forlì." This note on the language is of interest in considering the Lewis and Clark difficulty of interpretation. L. B. Palladino, S. J., *Indian and White in the Northwest*, . . . (Baltimore, 1894), p. 1 and 6.

¹⁰ An interesting linguistic work by the missionary priests records Salish as identifying the Flathead Indians, and vice versa under "Flathead" gives "Indian tribe, Selish," or themselves. *A Dictionary of the Kalispell or Flathead Indian Language*, Joseph Giorda, S. J., (2 vols., St. Ignatius, Montana, 1877-79). The Nez Perce Indian name for the Flatheads is given as "Selig" in *A Dictionary of the Numipu or Nez Perce Language*, (by Rev. A. Morvillo, S. J.) Part I, English-Nez Perce, St. Ignatius, Montana, 1895). Additional data is contained in Mengarini's *Narrative of the Rockies; Memoirs of Old Oregon, 1841-1850*, and *St. Mary's Mission*, edited by Albert J. Partoll, (Reprinted from the *Frontier and Midland*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 and 4, 1948), (Missoula, Montana, 1938).

The name "Tushe-paw" is of Shoshone Indian origin, and is unquestionably the name given to the Flathead-Salish by Sacajawea, the Shoshone Indian woman guide and interpreter with the Lewis and Clark expedition. The word is derived from "Tush" or "Tushe" with the variation "Tats" meaning summer, and "paw" or "pah" meaning water; the combination resulting in "summer water." This was the Shoshone or Snake Indian name for the Flathead-Salish, since these Indians lived in the Bitter Root valley which was noted for its mild climate in winter, and numerous hot water springs, which were ideal for bathing. The Bitter Root valley was along the route traveled by the Shoshone from the west to the eastern buffalo plains and was along an old Indian trail worn from time immemorial by moccasined feet, and later by the hoofs of Indians ponies when the tribes ceased to be afoot. Tushepaw, appropriately descriptive of this haven of rest and its natural resources, became the Shoshone name for the tribe residing there."

"Eoot-lash-Schute" and the variation Ootlashoot, as recorded in the respective journals of Lewis and Clark proper, and of Patrick Gass, for September, 1805, was another name originating with these explorers, who used it as synonymous with the Flatheads or Salish of the Bitter Root valley. In the tribal lore of the Flatheads the Bitter Root river was called "In-schu-te-schu," meaning red willow. Phonetic misrepresentation and limited interpretation may have changed "In-schu-te-schu" to "Eoot-lash-Schute." The red willow grew in such abundance along the river, that the Kutenai, the neighbors and allies of the Flatheads, nicknamed these Indians Mukwohenik in the Kutenai language, meaning Red Willow People. It is not an unfair assumption that the name "Eoot-lash-Schute" may have been intended to identify some feature of the environment or of the terrain, and that its real meaning and association was lost through faulty translation. The

"A variation of the word "Tushepaw" was first recorded by Lewis in a letter dated April 17, 1805, from Fort Mandan, when he mentions that he expected to meet the Flatheads or "Tut-see-was" Indians as the explorers traveled westward across the Rocky Mountains. Sacajawea, as an interpreter, would appear to have supplied the term as it is of Shoshone derivation. The Lewis letter was part of the Message to the Senate and house of Representatives of the United States, February 19, 1806, and appeared as part of "Travels in the Interior Parts of America; Communicating Discoveries made in Exploring the Missouri, Red River and Washita, by Captains Lewis and Clark, Dr. Sibley, and Mr. Dunbar," in vol. VI, of *A Collection of Modern and Contemporary Voyages and Travels*, (London, 1807), Printed for Richard Phillips, p. 35. Shoshone or Snake Indian vocabulary in reference to Tushepaw is given by Granville Stuart, *Montana As It Is*, (New York, 1865), p. 29; George W. Hill, *Vocabulary of the Shoshone Language*, (Salt Lake, 1877); John E. Rees, *Idaho Chronology and Nomenclature: Bibliography*, (Chicago, 1918), p. 117. The word is given in the journals of Lewis and Clark (Twiss Edition), and also in the Ordway Journal, as identifying the Flatheads or Salish. The biography of the Shoshone interpreter is given by Grace Raymond Hebard, *Sacajawea, Guide of Lewis and Clark*, (Glendale, 1933). Shoshone Indians were named Snake and Serpent Indians in translation of their tribal sign, which was the dart or movement of a snake.

name is peculiar to the writings of the Lewis and Clark expedition alone, and does not appear as tribal identification thereafter, unless borrowed from this source.¹³

Memories of the historic meeting of the Flatheads or Salish Indians and the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1805, in the Bitter Root valley of later western Montana, have been perpetuated by the Salish. Into their tribal traditions "witnesses" to the coming of the white man, have interwoven connecting threads of history. Among those remembered by posterity as present were Chief Three Eagles and his son, a lad of 15, later to be known as Chief Victor; Agnes or Mother Victor, later the second wife of Chief Victor, and at the time a girl in her early years; Chief Insula or Red Feather, also known as the Little Chief; Moise, later a second chief of the Flatheads, and Eugenie, who was in her early teens. In future decades, these survivors with others who witnessed the advent of the white man, recounted this memorable event, which heralded the end of their nonentity existence in the wilderness. The written chronicles of history thereafter, added their tribal names of Flathead and Salish to the roster of mankind.¹⁴

Following the explorations of Lewis and Clark there began a gradual influx of explorers, trappers, traders, missionaries, and the trimmings of frontier civilization to the homeland of the Salish of the Rocky Mountains. The fur trade penetrated their un-

¹³ The Salish themselves had no such word in their vocabulary and did not consider this their name. The appellation was an incorrect designation. The word "In-schu-te-scu" was recorded by the writer in an interview with Duncan McDonald (1847-1937), in 1929; Al Partoll, "Historical Sketches—Duncan McDonald," supplement to *the Montana Kaimin*, March 12, 1929. The Kutenai term appears in the vocabulary recorded by Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indians*, edited by Frederick W. Hoagess, VII, (Norwood, Mass., 1911), p. 179.

¹⁴ Three Eagles is mentioned in the recollections of Agnes as stated in a letter of Sept. 5, 1899, by J. D. Aste, S. J., and published by Olin D. Wheeler, *The Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1904*, (2 vols., New York, 1904) II, p. 65. Similar facts are narrated by Agnes or Mother Victor, as she was sometimes known, in an article, "When the Flatheads First Saw White Men," in the *Anaconda Standard*, (Montana), December 20, 1903, part 3, p. 2. Although unsigned, the article was written by Arthur L. Stone, later dean of the Montana School of Journalism. Chief Victor was a good sized boy when Lewis and Clark came, as he recounted to Major John Owen, in 1867. When Victor died in 1870 he was eighty, hence was born about 1790, and would have been 15 in 1805. The journals and letters of Major John Owen; *Pioneer of the Northwest 1805-1871*, edited by Seymour Dunbar and Paul C. Phillips, (2 vols., New York, 1927), II, p. 42; *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean Desmet, S. J., 1801-1873*, edited by H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson, (4 vols., New York, 1905), IV, p. 1338 notes the death of Victor. The "Liber Mortuorum, St. Mary's Mission" 1800 et seq. (Manuscript record) states that on July 14, 1870, Victor the head of the Flatheads died, while on a hunt, and that he was about 80 years old.

Eugenie, a Flathead girl in her early teens was also present as recorded in Palladino, *opus citra*, p. 3. William Marshall Anderson tells of Little Chief or Insula relating his boyhood recollections of Lewis and Clark to him in June, 1834. Anderson's *Narrative of a Ride to the Rocky Mountains in 1834*, edited by Albert J. Partoll, (Missoula, Montana, 1938), (reprinted from the Frontier and Midland, XIX, No. 1, 1938). Moise, a second chief of the Flatheads, as a boy witnessed the advent of these explorers, as is mentioned respectively by Captain John Mullan and Frank H. Woody. Mullan's statement is in the compilation by Isaac I. Stevens, *Report of Exploration for a Route for the Pacific Railroad*, Washington, 1855, I, p. 325. F. H. Woody, "A sketch of the Early History of Western Montana," (written in 1876 and 1877), published in *Montana Historical Contributions*, II, (Helena 1896), p. 89.

plundered empire in its quest for furs, and their name was used to designate the "Saleesh" House of David Thompson of the Northwest Company in 1809, and later the Flathead Post of the Hudson's Bay Company in the early 1820's. Thus identification of these trading centers gave geographic recognition, and affixed their name to Flathead lake and the river that drains it.¹⁴

In the annals of western history the Flathead or Salish Indians have attained distinction as a friendly people. Their name, often misunderstood, is an interesting reminder of the frontier era and a link in the chain of our western heritage.¹⁵

¹⁴ The writings of David Thompson and Alexander Henry are most interesting and historically valuable. They were the original followers of Lewis and Clark into the region. Both journals note that the Flatheads called themselves the Salish. Thompson used "Saleesh" for the main part, and Henry "Saleesh."

David Thompson's *Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812*, (Pub. by the Champlain Society, XII), edited by J. B. Tyrell, (Toronto, 1916); Alexander Henry and David Thompson, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest, 1799-1814*, edited by Elliott Coues, (3 vols., New York, 1897).

¹⁵ A great reservoir of information is found in a chronological bibliography of source material from 1805 to the close of the century, especially in the fur trade journals of the men who visited western Montana and knew the Flatheads or Salish. The study of this Indian tribe has been of great interest and continues to be so. This article on nomenclature is another in a series of research papers, which, it is hoped, will add to the knowledge of the "Land of the Salish" and the Indian people who lived there.



THE ADVENTURE OF E. G. BROOKE ON THE YELLOWSTONE IN 1866

By Virginia Lee Speck

Edward Gant Brooke during his forty-two years (1865-1907) in Montana served as postmaster for the Whitehall station between Helena, and Corinne, Utah, on the Wells-Fargo stage line for twenty-one years; and served in the House of the legislature for the Territory of Montana in 1876 and 1879. In the early seventies he drove cattle from Colorado and again in 1880 drove a band of sheep, cattle, and horses from Oregon and Washington across the Mullan Road into Montana. Mr. Brooke was born in Deer Park, Allegheny County, Maryland, September 25, 1819, and died on December 1, 1907, in Whitehall, which he had named by donating the land to the Northern Pacific Railroad for a "right of way" with the one specification that the town bear the name "Whitehall."

Mr. Brooke with his wife, Rachel, son, Walter, and two daughters, Minnie and Lulu, arrived in Virginia City, August 18, 1865, having traveled overland from St. Louis. Mr. Brooke had been a city marshal in St. Louis, but because of ill health had been advised to travel West. Soon after his arrival in Virginia City, he heard that the boat carrying all of his household goods had been snagged and sunk in the Missouri River. To verify this he made the three hundred mile trip to Fort Benton and found that through an error made by the shipping clerk he had lost all of his goods and was penniless.

The following spring he determined to return to St. Louis to see if he could collect some insurance on his lost goods. Mr. Brooke joined a party that was making preparations to leave Virginia City and make the trip to St. Louis by traveling down the Yellowstone River in flatboats. The boats for the trip were to be furnished by Daniel L. Bowen at a cost of fifty dollars per person. Mr. Brooke understood that the party would number thirty well-armed men, instead it was made up of twenty men, two women, and five small children. The men were very poorly equipped to ward off any attacks by the Indians. The members of the party were: Mr. Armstrong, W. W. Paul, William Piles, his wife and two daughters, aged two and four years, Ben Cardwell, Frank Williams, St. Louis; Colonel Frank Godfrey, Bangor, Me.; Dan

Brisbois, Dubuque, E. P. Brower, Dick Mills, J. L. Titus, J. W. Weaver, his wife and three children, one year to four years in age, and D. L. Bowen. Charles Snoden, Augustus P. Lawrence, Jessie Williamson, James A. Ramsey, John Ryan, and Mike Baylor joined the party at the Yellowstone River.

This party left Virginia City, March 28, 1866, in stormy weather; some rode in wagons and some were afoot. On April 8, it arrived at the Yellowstone River and on the fifteenth, it was attacked by a large party of Sioux Indians camped on the shore. The Indian encampment was so large that the travelers hastily abandoned their boats and set out on foot to return to Bozeman. After much suffering from lack of warm clothing, food, and proper footwear, this little group was found by a rescue party from Bozeman at the mouth of the Shields River. The only fatality was Augustus Lawrence who had been killed instantly by the Indians.¹

March 29.—While in camp today it occurred to some of us that if it be true that the Indians were well-armed with the celebrated Hawkins Mountain Rifle that beef hides would not prove bullet proof. In order to test the matter two hides were thrown over a scantling. Since mine was the best gun in the party, a Henry rifle, I stepped off 100 yards and fired. All were surprised at the result. The ball had passed through four thicknesses of rawhide and a 2 inch scantling.

March 31.—Cross the 3rd range today and also the upper Madison some ten miles below the Canyon. When we arrive at the crossing and while some of the boys were contending about who should wade across for the skiff which was on the opposite bank, Frank Godfrey struck out for the opposite shore. On reaching the opposite shore Frank went to the cabin to secure the loan of the skiff to fetch over the foot men of our party. On reaching the cabin he found it to be on fire and it was only by quick successive applications of water that prevented the property from destruction. A Mr. Foreman lived there but was absent.

April 4.—A party of two trappers from the Yellowstone stop with us and inform us that a large war party of Sioux have driven the Crows from the Yellowstone. . . .

April 5. Break camp early and drive to [John] Bozeman's place on East Gallatin and at noon, Bozeman informs us that on next day he will go to Virginia City to purchase a pair of boots

¹ The material for this account is taken from a combination of personal narrative by Mr. Brooke and his personal diary written in pencil on sheets of brown wrapping paper. Minor corrections in punctuation and spelling have been made. Mrs. Rachel Stanley Speck, a granddaughter of E. G. Brooke, of Whitehall, Montana, has the original manuscript.

if there are any there to fit him. A side glance is sufficient to convince a practical eye that No. 11 will be a tight fit. Bozeman is large and knowing as I did that there was nothing in Virginia City larger than a No. 9 except this pair of No. 11's which I had secured some months previous when suffering from the effects of a heavy loaded wagon passing over my foot when a prisoner to 11 Blood Indians near Mud Lake, Sun River Valley, I made Bozeman a present of the boots and gave him an order for them. I learned afterwards that he had to cut them open before he could wear them.

April 8.— . . . we arrive at the Yellowstone, a short distance below the canyon. All were disappointed after inspecting the boats. They were nothing but the wreck of boats deserted and left by a party who started to the states by this route last fall and abandoned the trip from some cause.

April 11.—Having a flat boat and a mackinaw in tolerable order at 9 o'clock A. M., we embark after starting teams back to Virginia City. Have severe snowstorms most of the day. The river being low it is with much difficulty that we cross some of the bars, often resorting to the unpleasant necessity of getting out in the water and lifting the boats over the bars.

April 4.—Weaver and myself start out before breakfast in search of game as we are getting scarce of bacon. We had not gone far before we saw what we supposed to be a large band of elk. We started for them but had not gone far before we crossed a fresh Indian trail. This reminded us that we had better inspect more minutely our band of elk for fear that we might make a mistake and kill some poor Indian's pony instead of an elk. Weaver and myself concluded that we did not want any meat. . . . After breakfast we again push out into the rapid current and the water having increased we glide rapidly on and down. The weather today is fine. About noon the boat strikes and is about swung around in which case she would have been dashed to pieces against the rocks. Weaver and myself jump overboard to prevent the accident. I am caught under the lower gunnel and come near being crushed to death, hardly getting from under the boat before it ground on the boulders.

April 15.—Chas. Snoden, Augusta P. Lawrence, Jessie Williamson, Jas. A. Ramsey, John Ryan, and Mike Baylor, who were navigating a large skiff started out ahead on this morning saying that as fresh buffalo signs had been seen the previous evening, they would go on in advance and kill enough meat to last the party down to the settlements on the Missouri River. They had

not proceeded far before they were fired on by a large war party of Sioux Indians armed with Hawkins rifles. Poor Lawrence fell from the first shot piercing the lungs and instantly expired in the skiff which drifted under the ice along the south bank of the river. The wickiyups [of the Indians] seemed to cover the entire country—at least as far down the river as was visible. Many black flags were flying from the tepee poles. We landed our boats on the opposite side of the river and soon determined to leave the boats and retreat back to Bozeman or the settlements on the Gallatin—each person taking with him as much provisions and bedding as he felt able to pack. Many valuable lots of furs and pelts were left in the boats. . . . I noticed Frank Godfrey supplying himself with bacon and sugar and on this alone he made the trip to the Gallatin Valley in good fit and short time considering the distance, condition of the road, and the unprecedented stormy weather. Mr. Titus and myself stood guard that night.

April 16.—The next morning a little after sunrise a small party of Indians appeared on a ridge $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant and down the river. They immediately disappeared in the direction from which they came. We supposed them to be a reconnoitering party and that they would soon come on with a larger force and attack us. Our party then consisted of 19 men. One of whom (Mr. Piles) was paralyzed through the entire left side and one hand had lately been amputated, so that he was entirely helpless but could walk by having a little assistance. Our arms for defense be it said to our shame were broken from ice and consisted of 1 old double barrelled shot gun with but one lock, the property of Mr. Piles; one muzzle loaded squirrel rifle, property of Dick Miles; one Ballard Rifle with only a few rounds of cartridges, property of Mr. Armstrong; one old Sharps Rifle and a few rounds of cartridges, property of E. G. Brooke. At the time the Indians appeared the sun was shining brightly, though it was only above the horizon and not a cloud was perceptible in the heavens; but I think that in less than twenty minutes we were in the midst of a most violent snowstorm. It was so dense that vision was completely obstructed. . . . This was made use of and widened the distance as great as possible between us and the savages. The storm came from up the valley so we had it to face, and it was by the course of the storm that we knew in what direction to travel. The storm continued until about dark. During the day it was thought advisable on account of the helpless condition of some of our party to send one of our party as a messenger to the Gallatin Valley for help to save the women and

children. To carry this out it was agreed . . . that we should decide the matter by lot. For the latter proposition, Frank Godfrey, Dan Brisboise, and myself drew cuts to decide which one of us should go. . . . Godfrey drew the long stick and undoubtedly was the only one of the three that was able to make the trip. Godfrey was about 25 years of age, six feet, active and full of courage and perseverance. . . . It was thought advisable for him to leave the party and cross the Yellowstone during the blinding storm that the Indians might not know anything of his leaving as they would doubtless follow and waylay him. It was understood that if Godfrey reached the shore in safety he was to signal the fact by a yell such as an Indian would make. Oh, how some of us waited in great suspense for the signal. Finally amid the roar of the storm then fearfully prevailing, it came, and I presume it was to all the only time they had ever heard that dreaded Indian yell with thankfulness. . . . But can he survive the storm? He has no blankets. Did his matches get wet in crossing? [These] were some of the inquiries from the ladies. No, they were secured in his long hair on top of his head, so that he could swim and keep them dry.

[On the succeeding two days, most of the able-bodied men left the party so that they could travel unhindered and at a much faster pace. On April 18, the small party reached the Bozeman Ford and thus hoped to put the width of the river between them and the Indians.]

April 18.—As Williams and myself are the only two able to contend with the strong current of water we are pressed to know which to take over on the first trip. We have two guns in the party. Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Titus can each use a gun, so we take Mr. Armstrong with his leather valise which I knew contained several thousand dollars in gold bars and retort. Williams strapped the valise to his shoulder, I taking some other baggage and between us supporting Mr. Armstrong, he throwing one arm over each of our shoulders so that we could support and help him. The ford starting from the south bank of the river runs diagonally across and up the river for nearly a half mile—often on a zigzag narrow bar, deep water on either side of the bar. Reaching the northern shore in safety we leave Mr. Armstrong with his gun to guard his treasury, but more especially his person from an attack of Indians who might be watching our operations. As we find the current strong and in some places to our armpits in depth with ice floating, we each take a good sized boulder as ballast to prevent being washed into deep water below the

ford. On our second voyage we each carried a child on our shoulders. We deposit them in charge of Mr. Armstrong and each securing a boulder as ballast return for the third cargo—two more children. Never shall I forget the two mothers parting with their children as we took the little two year olds from their arms, the great anxiety and fear for the safety of their children. . . . Having reached the shore in safety we leave the children with Mr. Armstrong and return for the fourth load—this time taking Mrs. Piles whom we found had prepared herself for the voyage by running a tuck in the skirt of her dress which she had loaded with good sized gravel to use as ballast in keeping her skirts from floating on the water. Buckling a stout leather cartridge belt around her waist so as to afford each of us a good hand hold, one of us being on each side of her, she placed an arm over our shoulders. In this way we could hold her up and also keep her from washing off the narrow bar.

[Mr. Piles was carried over in the same manner and then the hunters, Bowen, Paul, and Weaver, brought over the two persons left and the rest of the baggage. The hunters had failed to bring in any game, so they had a light supper as there was no coffee and only one quart of flour. Another difficulty now confronted them. The women's shoes had worn out. To enable the women to have some foot covering, the men made moccasins for them out of the legs of their own boots. At the forks of the Bozeman Trail and the Old Indian Trail leading into the Gallatin Valley, Weaver insisted that he and his family would take the Indian Trail.]

About one hour of travel brought us suddenly to the brow of the bluff overlooking the Shields River. On descending to the bank of the river we find fresh moccasin tracks, not more than 3 to 5 minutes since being made. We quickly and silently cross the river by wading. It is waist deep. Arriving on the opposite bank we behold more moccasin tracks—plenty of them and all toed up the river as were those on the opposite bank. Mr. Paul and myself volunteer to go in search of the lost Weaver family. Recrossing the river we ascend the bluff not deeming it advisable to follow in the wake of the savages. We had not proceeded more than 1 mile before we met the object of our search. They had come suddenly to the brow of the hill, and discovering the Indians beneath them, they quickly and quietly dodged back without having been discovered by the Indians, so great was the falling snow. Paul and myself each taking a child in our arms or

on our backs and Weaver taking the remaining one, we made the best time possible in reaching the other party.

[While helping Mr. Piles travel over a trail higher than the one the rest of the party was taking, Mr. Brooke advanced to the edge of the precipice] to ascertain the whereabouts of our friends, supposing that as we had traveled in an air line while they meandered the gulch and foot hills, that we must be quite up with them. Looking down on the trail below as it was in full view for miles up and down the river, I was surprised in not seeing a single member of our party. But instantly the mystery is solved. The eye following the trail for miles up toward the mountain, I discover 2 horses with riders at full speed coming down the trail. Instantly informing my companion that Indians were in the ravine below and approaching, Mr. Piles seemed much distressed on account of the danger that threatened his wife and two little daughters who were with the party below on the trail. On a second look I discover three other approaching as fast as their steeds could carry them. Unrolling my blankets and getting my cartridges ready, I take my stand beside a large rock ready to open fire on the enemy as soon as he got in range sufficiently close that I could make each shot lessen the number of the savages. . . . Imagine my great surprise and joy on looking over the hanging rocks below to see our friends leaving their hiding places and running to meet the supposed Indians, who now turned out to be brave men with big hearts from the Gallatin Valley. These men had responded to the first notes of our danger as given them by Col. Frank Godfrey whom we had up to this moment supposed to have been massacred by the Indians or had perished in the terrible storm which had raged for days after Col. Godfrey left us. . . . In a short time we were soon mounting on good cayuses and being informed that a supply of provisions had been provided for us and left a few miles back on the trail. we were not long in reaching it. . . . I have not the least doubt that not one of our party had ever before or since tasted as delicious food as the lunch we found at a spring by the side of the road.

This night in camp we learned the secret of the moccasin tracks on the Shields River. Our friends had met the previous day on the summit of the mountain, a half-breed Sioux, Johnny Reshaw. He had made good his escape from the Sioux who had captured his 3 wagons loaded with robes and valuable furs which Reshaw had traded for at the Crow Agency. The Sioux, no doubt, had started out to find our trail and fortunately for us

they found a much more valuable prize. The half-breed seeing the Indians approaching, cut his horses loose and each one of his men as well as himself mounting a horse had made their escape. In answer to questions propounded by our Gallatin Valley friends concerning these half-breeds knowledge of our party, they were told that Crow Scouts had told him that our party had been corralled on the south bank of the Yellowstone and all killed, that it was useless to go in search of us. That if they did so, the Sioux most assuredly would capture this party. They tried to hire the half-breed to go back and help search for us but his dread of the Sioux was so great that not even ponies would recompense him for the venture. . . . Col. Godfrey insisted that the party should not turn back without making a search as far down as Bozeman's crossing of the Yellowstone. The men finally agreed to search for us as far as the crossing of the Shields River. . . . The next day we reached Bozeman.

We were kindly cared for by her then few, but very hospitable citizens. We had all paid D. L. Bowen \$50 as passage money. . . . Bowen sent back by a special messenger and partner all the money he got from our party except a \$100 bill.²

² Mr. Brooke returned to Virginia City, the hardships and suffering he had undergone still visible, and deeply depressed that he had not been able to better the fortunes of his family.

MONTANA REMINISCENCES OF ISAAC I. LEWIS

Edited by Paul C. Phillips and Albert J. Partoll

Isaac Ives Lewis (1825-1903) was one of the most intelligent and resourceful of that restless breed of men who spent their lives on the frontier. He tried every opportunity which the frontier offered and found failures and successes, and left traces of his ventures and associations to be encompassed in the chronicles of Montana's territorial history.

Lewis was born at West Meriden, Connecticut, February 7, 1825, of Caleb and Mary Foster Lewis, who were natives of that state. The elder Lewis traveled widely in the south and in Pennsylvania, and in 1830 went to Illinois. There, some twenty miles east of St. Louis in what was known as the "Marine Settlement," he made a home for his family. With a quantity of eastern goods he opened the first store in the community, and the following year was joined by his wife and Isaac and two other children, Eli and Mary Ann, and a number of relatives. The new home and store were near the stage road extending east from St. Louis, the center of the American fur trade. When the entire stock of merchandise had been sold, the elder Lewis became a farmer, since additional store goods could not be had.

Young Isaac was probably a precocious child and went to school at a very early age in Connecticut, when he was "three, four, and five". In Illinois he attended school two and three months a year until he was twelve or thirteen. He learned to read for information and was especially a seeker of books relating to contemporary science. During these early years on the farm he learned to cut logs and split rails, and trapped for fur pelts, as well as doing chores, and lived much as other country boys of the time. He liked "country dances, apple parings, and Kissing Bee's". Disappointed in love, he tried to forget by going northwest; so in 1847 at the age of twenty-two he took a boat up the Mississippi and stopped near Stillwater, Minnesota.

He worked for two years cutting fence rails, poling boats, and building houses in the new country. He won a reputation for honesty and, in 1849, was employed by a person whom he identifies as "Senator Smith of Illinois" to pre-empt land on "the present site of the City of Minneapolis". Lewis in his reminiscences may have made reference to Robert Smith of Illinois, who had recently been a representative in Congress, or to Senator Truman Smith of Connecticut, who was interested in western lands. Lewis in later years believed that he was the first white person to take up residence in this area.

This experience was beneficial to Lewis in business matters, yet he wished more education and returned to school to wait for an opportunity. In the spring of 1851 he became manager of a store, and by 1854 after successful and profitable operation for the proprietor, he went into business for himself. He purchased a store on credit, and also began to manufacture brick for the construction of business buildings in Minneapolis. He promoted the building of a toll bridge across the Mississippi, and engaged in land speculation. He bought pre-emption rights and located sites for new towns on these lands, including Watertown. His numerous relatives assisted in the land deals by pre-emption and transferring title to him.

Lewis undertook road building to give importance to the new towns, and he added hotels which he operated or turned over to relatives and friends. In his

commercial expansion he acquired saw and grist mills, a variety of stores, and had interests in other businesses to boost new towns. Large sums to finance his undertakings were borrowed, and his credit was extended by issuing "Shin-plasters" and other "tickets" printed in denominations from five cents to a dollar, and even for as much as "\$5-\$10 as designated." His speculations and promotions were a great risk and the panic of 1857 seriously injured his fortune. His own statement summarizes the situation: "No one these days can scarcely imagine what desperate hard times we had in Minnesota from the fall of 1857 to 1862 . . . People that owed me couldn't and didn't pay. Neither could I pay my debts." He lost most of his property in Minneapolis and moved to Watertown where he retained some small holdings.

In Watertown he operated a hotel, a store, and a grist and saw mill; as a sideline he bought and sold ginseng, for which there was heavy demand. His efforts to rebuild his fortune were not well rewarded and he suffered losses amounting to \$4,000 in 1865, when he invested in a mining venture near Vermilion Lake, adjacent to the Canadian line. Lewis, now almost bankrupt, considered the far west as a possible new locality of operation.

In the winter of 1870-71, a man from Idaho told Lewis stories of gold mining opportunities in the Coeur d'Alene country, and offered to sell his knowledge of locations. Lewis, intrigued by the "glitter" of the golden yarns, yielded to the call and left Minnesota with Idaho as his destination. On his way he stopped in Montana, and for six years engaged in mining and other pursuits. The events of these years are related in his "Little History," which include his reminiscences of Montana, here published for the first time.

In Montana, Lewis found in Samuel Hauser a powerful friend who had much to do with his later triumph. Hauser was one of the great business men of Montana and was a successful politician. While W. A. Clark and Marcus Daly were building up their strength for the struggle to control Butte and the country around, Hauser was acquiring rich mines south of Helena, where Lewis was to carry on his mining operations. Hauser also obtained control of valuable mines near Philipsburg. In both regions, Lewis operated and received strong financial aid from Hauser.

Idaho looked inviting to Lewis in 1877, so he made his way to the "Seven Devils" in the southwestern part of that territory. In the neighborhood of Sun Valley he began mining and started a town which he first called Leadville, but later renamed Ketchum. With ore samples he returned to Helena, Montana to induce friends to lend him money. From Samuel Hauser and Anton Holter he obtained \$12,000, with which to buy the Elkhorn mine from which the samples had been dug. After returning to Ketchum, Lewis bought several mines and laid claim to other mining land under the Desert Land Law. His best mine was the Elkhorn, which yielded ore from which more than a million dollars worth of gold, silver and copper was extracted.

Upon return of financial success Lewis invested extensively in real estate, and at one time held title to much of the present Sun Valley. He established a bank, a store, and a hotel. This time he was able to retain his fortune, even during the panic of 1892-1896. His holdings and property he valued as about \$100,000.

During these years of success and failure, Lewis was active in politics, and was a persistent Democrat as far back as the time of his residence in Minnesota, where most people were Whigs. In Minnesota he was justice of the peace, and was elected a member of the House of Representatives in 1867. In Montana he served two terms as Jefferson County delegate in the State Legislative Council

(Senate) for the ninth and tenth sessions. He also served a term as justice of the peace in Idaho territory. Fraternally he was affiliated with the Masons.

Isaac I. Lewis married Georgiana Christmas at Minneapolis in 1852, and to them seven children were born. One, Henry Jay, died in infancy. A daughter, Addie, to whom Lewis was especially devoted, died very young. The remaining five, Horace, Mary, George, Gertrude, and Clancey Montana, grew to maturity, married and had families. The youngest son, Clancey Lewis was living in Seattle in 1950. A number of grandchildren survive, of whom one, Mary Lemon Doyle of Sun Valley, Idaho, furnished the copy of the manuscript, the "Little History," a portion of which is here published. Isaac I. Lewis died at Pasadena, California in April, 1903. His remains were cremated and sent to Watertown, Minnesota for burial. His wife survived him until June 17, 1917.

[The reminiscences of Isaac I. Lewis, here presented begin at Watertown, Minnesota, where he had purchased a drug store in the fall of 1869.]

I continued along with the drug store until the spring of 1871 when I left it in charge of Charles G. Halgren, for a trip to the rocky mountains. Addie had said before she was taken sick, one time after she had consulted her Planchet,¹ that if Papa would go to the rocky mountains instead of to Vermillion, he would make a lot of money. In the winter of 1870-71, a man by name of Robinson came to Minneapolis with a lot of very rich specimens of gold and silver ore which he said he had taken from the mountains in the Coeur D'Alene country in Idaho, from claims he himself had discovered in the wilderness. He represented himself to be in the last stage of consumption and knew he would not live a great while, that all he wanted was money to last him while he lived and was willing to show a certain number of persons the place and give up his right to it for \$200 apiece. He raised quite an excitement in Minneapolis and St. Paul, which spread out into the country. The result was that he raised a party of some 40 or more members. About getting to Montana, I wanted to go to Montana anyway, I concluded to join his party provided I could raise the money.

Our destination by river was to be Fort Benton. We did not get away from Council Bluffs until the 12th of May. Embarked on board the *Ida Reese*² bound for Fort Benton, loaded with freight for Helena, Montana. In the Robinson party were Grosbeck of

¹ More properly "planchette." His daughter Addie before her death had used this to foretell the future.

² The route was by rail from Minneapolis to Council Bluffs, Iowa, thence by steamboat to Fort Benton. The name of the boat was *Ida Reese* No. 2. There is a confusion of dates here. The *Ida Reese* made a trip to Fort Benton arriving there on May 13. (Montana Historical Society, Contributions I, p. 324). She returned to Council Bluffs and started up the river probably about May 20. She was wrecked as described by Lewis and the passengers were taken to Cow Island by the *Silver Lake*. The *Silver Lake* had arrived at Fort Benton, June 16, 1869 and had made an extra round trip to Dauphines Rapids returning to Fort Benton June 24. The boat that picked up the passengers of the wrecked *Ida Reese* and carried them to Grand River is not identified.

Minneapolis, a cousin of Rev. Knickerbacker; Frank Corlis, wife, & sister in law; old man Lucy; John Shilling and his son A. B. Shilling.

This rise of water in the Missouri was just coming down and the river was getting very high and the current strong. The *Ida Ruse* (or *Rese*) was an old stern-wheel boat and very hard to manage in swift water. At times in a strong current the pilot lost control of her and she would turn clear round with her bow down stream. Once we even crashed into the bank with such a shock and crash that we thought our time had come. One time the boat lay for half a day with all hands cutting and bringing aboard wood enough to run us to a wood yard. About 12 one night we ran into a sandbar and sank in water that just covered the boiler or lower deck; the stern being in little the deepest water. I was in bed asleep when she struck. McKee came to my stateroom saying "Get up quick, the boat is sinking." We lay there until the next afternoon when a large steamboat coming up river took off the passengers and commenced wrecking the sunken boat. They took all the machinery they could reach, all the furniture and fixtures and fished out of the hold a large number of barrels of pork, whiskey and other goods, piling them on the shore where they left a guard.

Grand River was the destination of the boat which had rescued us. Here we found an old acquaintance, Capt. Harmon, and through his influence we were granted some special favors. As night came, the sky was cloudy and had a very threatening look. The boat was made fast to shore by strong hausers at both bow and stern. It was about 11 o'clock in the night when the storm, a regular hurricane struck us. It was so sudden and violent, the boat broke from her moorings and was blown out into and down the river. Having no fire under the boilers, steam could not be gotten up, so the rudders were useless and we were drifting broadside before the wind in total darkness, being almost capsized and had the boat struck anything, she would certainly have gone over. I was in bed sleeping when she broke loose. Whether McKee was or not, I don't know, but anyhow, he came to my room and said "Get up the boat is being blown away and we are liable to be upset." As the storm lulled, we were three or four miles down stream. Torch lights had been made of pine and pitch to throw as much light as possible on the water, shore was seen, and the vessel finally brought to under a high bank where she was made fast until morning. Now we steamboated over 250 miles of the Missouri for the third time. It was

much like the school boy who was late and when being asked why, he said "Why, because every time I took a step forward, I slipped back Two." "Well, how did you get here?" I had to turn round and go back the other way." To get up stream, we had to turn around and go back down stream.

Stopping to wood up one day, just below a sharp bend in the river, a lot of buffalo were seen grazing less than a mile from the shore. McKee, Shilling, Corliss and several others went with army needle guns and started in pursuit. The Captain told them they could make across the bend while the boat went around. They crawled up behind weeds and tufts of bushes within gun shot, and commenced a fusilade of the buffaloes. Some were wounded and killed. McKee had hit an old bull, he didn't propose to retreat, the boys fearing a battle, had dropped flat on the ground after shooting. The bull not being able to see anyone didn't know where or who to attack, but bellowed and tore round making a great fuss. The boys had to leave their meat and sneak off to avoid the bull. The boat made round the bend, launched and blew the whistle. The Capt. got quite out of patience before the boys came in.

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The next day a lot of buffalo were crossing the river some distance ahead of the boats; the boys commenced shooting at them and as we came nearer to them one was hit just as he was getting out of the river; he ran a little way into the bushes and fell. The boat landed a short distance above the place where the buffalo was seen and several men with guns and knives jumped ashore and ran to get the game. They saw the buffalo, got close to it, and were about to go up to it to cut its throat when it jumped up and made off thru the brush. Rapid firing was heard and a chase for half a mile before they captured him, then some one came to the boat for ropes to help drag him in. This meat lasted until we reached the Post at the mouth of the Musselshell River.² There was one young man dressed in buckskin clothing, trimmed out in Indian style. He astonished the natives, or us fellows from the states, by calling for his steak to be brought him on a plate, raw. He sat next to me at table. Salted and peppered his raw steak and seemed to eat it with as much relish as a hungry dog would. I begin to be a little afraid of him with his pistols and bowie knife in his belt. His name was Wm. S. Sterling. I have met him several times of late years. The last time was at the

² This was a summer camp to protect a road from Carroll, Montana west to Helena. See Brigadier General Alfred H. Terry, "Report" in *Annual Report of the Secretary of War 1875-76*, p. 62. Captain William Ludlow, "Report of reconnaissance from Carroll Montana Territory to the Yellowstone National Park and Return." (Washington 1876 p. 13.

Palace Hotel in Ketchum. We took a "smile" together at the bar and he remarked that it was just 20 years ago since we first met on the Missouri River in 1871. Late years he has been engaged as a traveling salesman selling whiskey thru Montana and Idaho.

As we passed Muscleshell, we saw hundreds of buffalo standing in the mud up to their bellies, whipping off flies with their tails. They seemed to pay very little attention to the boat; which actually had to stop and toot her whistle. The Post was not over half a mile above the mouth of the river. We landed there before noon and lay up until the next day. That afternoon the boys went out and killed a buffalo cow and a calf. The calf was very fine and fat. Hunters were numerous on the river at this time; killing off the buffalo for their robes and tongues. The old Silver Lake got up as far as Cow Island, but couldn't get over the rapids; water was getting too low and swift. Here they landed us, after a week's delay waiting for wagons to come for us from Fort Benton, a distance of 140 miles by road. One man that came down had a single span of black horses and light wagon. McKee, Lucy, Grosebeck, one or two other men and myself secured this team to carry our trunks and baggage. We were not allowed to ride except on level road or down grade, so it was walk most of the time. Our road lay up Cow Creek some eight or ten miles, then bearing to our left and more northward, we struck across the Alkali prairie by Little Rockies.

After leaving Cow Creek there was no water except alkalki ponds, until we reached the Bear Paw mountain. Our first night out it was after dark when we came to an alkali pond where we camped. We were all very thirsty and drank of this water. We put lemon and sugar in it to destroy the alkali taste, preparing it thus, we drank more freely of it. We might as well have taken a triple dose of salts as for the effect it had. We didn't need any standing guards that night. Some of us were on duty all the time. The next night we camped on Eagle Creek, a nice spring stream of water coming down out of the Bear Paw Mts. Upon arriving at Fort Benton, most of our party purchased ponies. While at Fort Benton, Grosebeck had a good deal to say about Robinson. Said he believed him to be a rogue and that he intended to bilk the whole party. Considerable excitement was stirred up; a meeting of the party was held, and a committee of three were appointed to go with Robinson to Helena, as a body guard, to see that he did not play the party any tricks. The committee consisted of Corliss, Shilling, and another man. Grosebeck was a queer genius. He had been in Montana before and knew a good many

people there. Knew X. Beidler⁴ and all about the road agents that the Vigilantes had hung, and told about what a terror X. Beidler was, and related many horrible stories of murders and hangings in Montana; said that the roughs lived on sage brush and grease wood. He told so many desperado stories that he got old man Lucy to believe every man carried a brace of pistols and a bowie knife and that a man's life was in danger go where he might in Montana. When we came near Helena, Lucy couldn't be got up to town for love or money. For three days we waited for Robinson to get his business fixed up. One day at noon, Corliss & Shilling told us that Robinson had purchased tickets for them all to go on the coach to Missoula the next a. m., that Robinson was all right, no fear about it. We went right down and hitched up our team and drove out on the road some 12 miles. The next days stage could not reach Missoula more than half a day ahead of us. We were just eating our breakfast next morning when Shilling rode into our camp saying that Robinson had gone, and that they had been hunting for him all night. At this news Grosebeck raved. He jumped up, drew his long knife, flourished it around striking it into the ground, cursing, and stabbing the air uttering horrible curses. I was nearly paralyzed, fearing he might be in a crazy fit and injure us. We returned to Helena.

Robinson had stepped out the side door of the hotel and struck across the prairie to the 1st stage station on the road to Corinne.⁵ He stayed at the station keepers house until the stage came long next morning bound south for Utah. Robinson had bilked on an expedition of this same character, two years before in Montana.

Robinson took the stage at the 10 mile house.⁶ At noon, the stage stopped at Capt. Cooks in Boulder Valley for dinner. As Mr. Robinson passed into the dining room, one J. M. D. Green recognized him as the man who had given him and a large number of others the slip; he secured the assistance of Capt. Cook, and after stripping the man of his wealth, gave him \$100 and ordered him out of the country.

Upon learning of his escape, the Robinson party at Missoula scattered in every direction. Some to Oregon, Washington and others turned their attention to prospecting in Montana. I did some of my first placer mining at that time.

⁴ J. X. Biedler, one of the most colorful of Montana pioneers. He arrived at Virginia City, June 10, 1863. He later lived in Helena and in Dawson County. He died in Helena, January 20, 1890. He reportedly shot many road agents.

⁵ Corinne, Utah. A station on the Union Pacific and also the southern terminus of the stage between that railway and Butte, Helena, and other places in Montana.

⁶ The 10 Mile House was about 10 miles south of Helena.

We bargained with Old Joe for the Legal Tender Mine.¹ We staked out a claim for The Telegraph Mine. Capt. Henry Guyer was the Metallurgist and assayer at the Smelter. He made all his assays with the Blow Pipe, which is a very short and quick method of arriving at the value of ore. There was a great deal of todo over the Legal Tender Mine. Suspicion of Mr. Bull. Mr. Bull advanced me the money to send for my family, for which I built a small frame house with one square room and two bed rooms. Later on, I moved my family down to the Tanner Ranch on the Overland road. My wife had had a very bad spell of illness and was not able to sit up when we moved, I took her down on a bed. Except for the help of Mrs. Addis at this time, I am sure wife would have died. Gertrude's arm was dislocated when the sleigh tipped over on the way to the mine. This was also a bad siege.

Just at the time the Little Emma Mine of Utah had been sold to Englishmen for some five or eight million dollars, and the mine failed, the news reached London just as the Expert was to start to visit the Legal Tender. This knocked all the American mines flat with the Londoners.

In the fall of 1872, I sent Horace back to Minneapolis to school. In January wife went back to Minnesota, she had been with me in Montana about nine months. I put her and George and Gertrude aboard the mail sleigh. George, aged 12, and Gertie 5. The baby was born August 8th the next fall. After my wife and children left me in January, I closed up the Tanner house and took my abode at the mine in the office. After Mr. Bull arrived, I still slept at the mine but boarded at the foot of the hill with Mrs. Addis.

As soon as we had purchased the mine from Old Joe Fultz,² H. M. Hill tore down his buildings at Montana City and re-erected them at Clancy³ and was appointed Post Master. We built a large hall which served as reading room, school house, church and dance hall for the whole settlement.

In August 1873, our Foreman, Frank Christenot left us and we hired Allen, (Frank Allen) of Radersburg, Montana, to take his place. Christenot . . . was the discoverer of the "Crop Cache" gold mine near Virginia City, Montana, and at one time carried

¹ Legal Tender Mine was a producer for several years.

² Joe Fultz was a prospector. Henry N. Hill was a merchant at Montana City and secretary of the town corporation when the camp was incorporated by the legislature February 6, 1865. For a time, Montana City bore the name Prickly Pear.

³ Clancy was fourteen miles southeast of Helena. It was named for "Judge" William Clancy who later moved to Los Angeles where he died in 1882. Here was established the Jefferson Valley Woolen Mill in 1879. This was the first woolen mill in Montana. The collapse came soon after and the population of the camp dropped from 200 in 1879 to 79 in 1880.

in belts around his body and over his shoulders, twenty thousand dollars in gold dust and nuggets that he pounded out of his mine from Virginia City to Chicago, riding in a stage coach in Road Agent times over 1,500 miles making the whole journey to Chicago without removing the gold from his person, and not being suspected of having any treasure about him. The weight of gold that he had on his person was about 65 pounds. Not many men were capable of such endurance. He travelled the whole distance in rough dirty miner's clothing to escape being attacked and robbed by the Road Agents who then infested the country. . . .

When leaving Clancy in September 1873 for Minnesota, I took with me a thousand dollars in money and went by stage-coach to Corinne, Utah. Mr. S. Koenigsberger was a fellow passenger. He preferred riding outside with the driver. At Pleasant Valley we learned that the coach going down the evening before had been held up a few miles below that place by "Road Agents" but as the coach had no treasure aboard and only one passenger, they had their trouble for their pains and got nothing. Now as their raid on that coach had been unsuccessful, we expected that they would repeat and attack our coach, so before leaving Pleasant Valley that night we all hid our valuables in one place or another about the coach, some in trunks, boxes, old valises and behind cushions. Koenigsberger put on "brave," but I noticed that he doubled himself up and curled down under the leather covering in the front or driver's boot. The coach was full—some lady passengers—and all trembled with fear, and there was no sleeping that night. However, we met no highwaymen. One of our passengers, a Captain of the Army from Fort Ellis,¹⁰ related a narrow escape he had experienced some years before on that road when the coach was attacked by road agents and fired into. One man was killed on the driver's seat and one bullet shot into the coach, striking the cushion near the Captain's head and then fell on the seat. Had the horses not scared and run, there is no telling what further might have happened. When I reached Minneapolis, I found all well except daughter Mary. My wife and family domiciled in her new purchase; the boys and Gertrude attending school. Daughter Mary was walking on crutches. While at school at Faribault, the spring before, she had fallen or partly fell and jumped down a flight of stairs and fractured her ankle, from which she had suffered much and was not yet recovered.

¹⁰ A military post near Bozeman.

When I left Watertown in April 1871 for the trip to Montana, I was not to be absent over two and a half months. It was two years and eight months ere I returned to Minnesota. Nephew and I reached Corinne, Utah, on the 1st of December and engaged coach passage to Helena, Montana. We were six days in reaching Clancy, riding day and night, in the very coldest weather we had that winter. We had good company; there were only four of us through passengers. Our coach companions were Matt Carrol¹¹ (of the Diamond R Fast Freight Line) and Wm. Muth, a young man from Omaha, going to Helena to a clerkship in a mercantile establishment. We had a box of cigars. Matt Carrol had a demijohn of—milk? and a box of cigars. It was the most pleasant stage coach trip I ever had. Carrol was so full of funny anecdotes that it waked up a few from the rest of us. Albert got off some amusing "Deutcher" ones. Albert and I landed at Mrs. Addis' at foot of Legal Tender hill on the evening of Dec. 6, 1873. To get money to us in Minneapolis and to pay my way back to Montana, wife mortgaged her place for \$1,500. Wife was never going to leave Minneapolis again and I expected to send her money to live on and support the family and to pay off the mortgage.

* * *

We had learned something by this time about marketing ores. Heretofore we had been selling our product at about half its value. What Koenigsberger had bought of us he had shipped via California to Swansea, England. Nolan sold his, some in Salt Lake City, Omaha and New Jersey. I learned that Freiberg, Germany, was a good market and determined to ship and market our ore ourselves. The Diamond R Freight Line had opened a road to the mouth of the Musselshell River on the Missouri, and had arrangements to bill freight through to New York City via their mule teams to the Missouri River, thence by steam boat to Bismark and rail from Bismark via St. Paul to New York. I contracted with them to take our ore at our orehouse and land it in New York City at forty dollars per ton, and commenced shipping early in the spring of 1874. All ore sold in America was paid for in greenbacks. In Germany, it was paid for in gold coin, and gold coin exchange was worth a premium of fifteen cents on the dollar. At Freiberg they paid for silver, lead and zinc, and their charges for reduction was much less than the Smelter's charges in the U. S. The premium we got credit for in New York just about paid

¹¹ Carroll, an Irishman came to Montana in 1859. He made his residence first at Fort Benton and later at Helena. He was a trader as well as a proprietor of the Diamond R Fast Freight Line.

the freight on our ore from the mine to Freiberg. The time it took to get returns from a shipment was usually from four to five months. To get advances to meet mining expenses, the First National Bank of Helena charged us at the rate of 30% per annum, and we had to ship the ore in their name. Even at that rate of interest we were realizing more for our ore than we could elsewhere—barring one unfortunate lot of about 100 tons, valued about \$30,000 that lay at Muscleshell over winter on account of low water in the Missouri and was full year between date of shipment and receipt of returns. The interest on that lot cost us about \$9,000.00 Early this spring wife wrote me that she was coming back to Montana. Here was another break-up. In April she sold the place subject to the mortgage, and sold at a sacrifice most of her household goods and furniture. Shipping via the Missouri River, her marble top center table and the organ, clothing, bedding, etcetera, and with Mary Beau (Norwegian girl for help) and all the children excepting our daughter Mary, took passage for Montana via rail to Bismark and steamboat to Muscleshell (or Carrol as it is now called). In the meantime I commenced to build a home on the piece of land I owned, just above the Concentrator and opposite Mr. Hill's store on the other side of the creek.

* * *

When I found that she was coming out again, I sent express word for Horace to remain in Minneapolis and go to school, and insisted that he do so and I was surprised to see him with his mother when she came. When he was at the Legal Tender Mine two years before, he fell in love with a "Bull Whip" and used to get out on the hillside and pop it for hours. At one time he was crazy to go off down to Corinne with a couple of big mule teams; begged of me to let him go; he was then only 14. When he came this time against my will, I told him that I couldn't keep him around home that he would have to go to work somewhere. I went to Helena next day and saw C. W. Cannon to see if he would take Horace in his store. As it happened, Cannon needed a boy, so he came right out to see Horace and arranged to take him at once. Horace never lived at home since that time.

The city of Helena was about half burned down on the 9th of January 1874. All of Chinatown and the upper part next to Chinatown was consumed; the part included the livery stables, International Hotel, Cosmopolitan Hotel, the Can Can, Parchen's Drug Store, R. S. Hale's drug store, Gan's & Klein's clothing store, the First National Bank, Koenigsberger Bros.'s Store, and a large number of other business houses. On the east side of Main

Street everything was burned clear down to the Old St. Louis Hotel which was a 3 story brick and not occupied at the time. I was stopping at the Cosmopolitan and had just come down to breakfast; it was early; not hardly light yet; tables were set and breakfast was just ready but no one had sat down when the alarm of FIRE! FIRE was sounded. There was no breakfast eaten there that day nor scarcely anywhere else in town. I remained in town all day and helped Henry Cannon keep the fire brands from setting his store on fire. The proprietors of the Cosmopolitan opened the St. Louis Hotel next day. "

In the fall of 1874 the Democratic County Convention was held at Radersburg and George Harrison attended as delegate. I was taken by surprise when he returned and told me that I was nominated for member of the Legislative Council. Virginia City in Madison County had always been the Capitol of the Territory, until by vote of the people the year before, it had been changed to Helena. When election came off I was duly elected a member of the Council. "

In the latter part of the season, the output of ore from the mine began to lessen; some of the stopes were exhausted. We crowded the work in different directions to develop other ore bodies. Our payroll was over \$4,000.00 a month besides the expense of timber, lumber and other incidentals. Only one dividend of \$6,000.00 had ever been made. About the 7th of June our boiler sprang a leak, the mine filled with water and we had to quit work. Before this, we had taken a lease on the Mammoth mine of C. W. Cannon. " This mine was on the same side of the creek, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile above the Legal Tender. The Mammoth had a nine foot vein at the surface of quartz and galena ore mixed. Some very rich ore. When we struck there was not enough ore in it to pay for drifting and we quit the vein at a loss of about \$3,000. Before the failure of our boiler on the Legal Tender, I had leased the Grass Valley Gold mine on Seven-Mile Creek, which was located about four miles west of Helena, and to work the ore had leased a 10-stamp gold mill that had been idle for several years. The mill was situated in Greenhorn Gulch, 10 miles west from Helena and was built in 1864 by Frank

¹² Michael A. Leeson, *History of Montana* (Chicago, 1885) p. 717 describes this Helena fire.

¹³ Lewis was mistaken in his dates. He was nominated in the fall of 1875 and took office in the Ninth Session of the territorial legislature which met in January 1876. *Council Journal. Ninth Session of the Legislative Assembly.* (Helena 1876). Lewis was also in the Tenth Session which met in 1877. *Ibid. Tenth Session 1877*, p. 6.

¹⁴ C. W. Cannon, a native of Ohio came to Montana by wagon up Platte River through Smith Pass via Lander's Cut-Off to Virginia City where he arrived September 11, 1864. He engaged in mining there and in the country south of Helena. Later he became a merchant of Helena.

Allen for a company in which he was interested and which owned a number of claims in that vicinity. It was a good mill and I sent Allen over to put it in order and run it. I found that mining the Grass Valley was a losing game and I shut down both mine and mill at a loss of about \$2,000. Now when we came to settle up with the National Bank people who hadn't failed yet to honor our checks, we found ourselves indebted to them about \$40,000. We had paid off every man except Cannon Brothers; we owed them about \$1,200. We had some ore in transit to Freiberg and some second class yet to concentrate.

In 1875 [1876], January, I served 40 days in the Territorial Legislative Council at Helena, boarding at the St. Louis Hotel. My son George J., (then 14 years old) was elected and served as messenger of the council. My wife came in and stopped about two weeks at the hotel during the session. I was Chairman of the enrollment committee, on the judiciary and several other committees. One of the bills I drafted and introduced was what was called the Northern Pacific Railroad Bill: a bill for "An Act to Encourage the building of that Road into Montana."¹⁵ In the other branch of the Legislature, they had a bill up to "Encourage the building of the Utah & Northern Rail Road into Montana"; a north and south bill. My bill prevailed and became a law. It was a subsidy Act; one provision of the Act was having the law ratified by the people at a special election. The law was defeated by a vote of the people by a small majority. During this session of the Legislature of Montana I wrote a number of articles for the *HELENA HERALD* over the name-de-plume of "Pythagoras."¹⁶ Those articles were mostly arguments in favor of the passage of the N. P. Ry. Bill. By referring to the files of the "*HERALD*" for the months of January and February 1875, all my said articles can be readily seen. I saw money under cover during this session, in an effort to have me change my vote to the N. S. road.¹⁷ But as my constituents had instructed me to work for the N. P., there was not money enough in Helena to buy my vote.

Two years later I was again elected to the Montana Legislature Council. Dr. Armstrong H. Mitchell of Deer Lodge was chosen temporary Chairman—he was a candidate for president against William E. Bass of Missoula and one or two others, and

¹⁵ This was "An act to encourage the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad in the Territory of Montana," passed January 3, 1876, approved February 11, 1876, in Montana Legislative Assembly. *Laws, Memorials, and Resolutions of the Territory of Montana passed at the ninth regular session.* (Helena Daily and Weekly Herald, 1876), pp. 139 ff.

¹⁶ The *Helena Herald* of January 25, 27, 28, 1876 contains three articles on the Northern Pacific Railroad Bill signed "Reasoner." It has nothing signed "Pythagoras" either for 1875 or 1876.

¹⁷ N—S means North-South.

later I began to get votes. Neither of us would vote for ourselves. Should Bass vote for me and I for myself I would be elected and if I voted for Bass and he for himself, he would have been elected. At last, I wrote two ballots for Bass, went to his seat and showed him two ballots, laid one on his desk and told him to vote it on the next ballot and he would be elected. He did so and became President of the Council. My son Horace was assistant clerk. I drafted another N. P. bill with the understanding that W. O. P. Hayes¹⁸ of Gallatin County should introduce and father it. My bill, introduced by Hayes, passed in the Council and became law.

My salary at the Rumley Mine was not curtailed on account of my being absent nearly two months. After closing down the Legal Tender, Mammoth and Grass Valley Mines, in June and July 1875 Albert C. Lewis and D. C. McKee went back to Minnesota. Albert's brother, John H. Lewis, (Eunice's father), who had come to Montana that spring and had been my engineer at the Greenhorn, remained with me.

On the 7th of August, T. M. Slosson, Chas. G. Halgren, H. A. L. Tanner, John H. Lewis, H. J. McKee & myself rigged up a team and camp outfit and went to Butte. We went through the park (a prairie on the summit of the Rocky Mountains, ten miles long by 2 to 3 miles wide). The south end of the Park is about 5 miles from Butte. There was no road or track across it. We saw hundreds of antelope, elk and deer going over. We killed one big elk & one antelope. Upon reaching Butte we found an almost deserted camp. About ten years before, it had been a lively mining camp, but now, about all there was of life to it was a blacksmith shop, a beer saloon and an eating house. No place to sleep. We remained there a week, pitching our tents on what is now the Lexington Mine. I had my blow-pipe assay outfit with me and we made tests of the ore from various places. I was so well satisfied that some day there would be a great mining camp there, despite the fact that we assayed nothing over \$80 per ton, that when I went home and saw C. W. Cannon in Helena I told him this:—"Helena will have to look out for its laurels. The day is coming when Butte will outstrip her." Cannon laughed at the idea. I said "never mind, you'll see." Two weeks after, we went back there; our best claims were jumped the morning we arrived to commence work. We had been gone just twenty days

¹⁸ W. O. P. Hays was a native of Tennessee, born there in 1828. He was a member of the Butterfield Expedition of 1853 which laid out the first mail route to California. He became a prospector in Colorado and came to Bannack in December 1863. He later settled in Bozeman and was a member of the Territorial Council in 1877 and 1879.

from the time of claiming it, and the law was that we must commence work within that time. We were a few hours too late. Spending another week in locating more claims, we returned home over the Pipestone Pass and by way of the Hot Springs, where I took an open air bath in one of the springs. From thence to Whitehall Station on the Overland Road, thence home.

* * *

I was then offered position as Superintendent of the Rumley Mine.¹⁹ I was expected to occupy the office at the mine, take general charge, hire the men, keep the books, make necessary surveys, sample, sack and ship ore, do all the assaying, make weekly and monthly reports in triplicate, mail all original reports to Mr. Towner at Philadelphia, remitting duplicate to Mr. Hauser at Helena. My mine foreman was to be Miles Cavanaugh.²⁰ I was to make out payrolls in duplicate and draw checks to pay men and all bills. My salary was to be \$150 per month and board myself. I accepted the arduous duties and went to work on the 1st day of March 1876 and continued in charge of the Rumley mine until September 1877.

In January and February of 1877, I was in Helena attending the session of the Legislature. Soon after returning to the Rumley mine, Mr. Hauser informed me that I was appointed Superintendent of the "Hope Mine"²¹ at Philipsburg at a salary of \$125 per month that my time at Philipsburg need not occupy more than ten or twelve days of each month, and should not interfere with my salary at the Rumley. He wanted me to go over there at once, hire a good foreman and put men at work, make underground surveys, and work and develop a body of ore, if possible, and make monthly reports to Samuel Gaty, the President, at St. Louis. The Company was organized as the "Hope Mining Co." and had a 10-stamp silver mill at Philipsburg. I believe it was the first silver mill built in Montana. Their mine was about a mile and one half up the mountain from the mill. Both mine and mill had been run several years under various superintendents. Their last superintendent had extracted all the ore in sight and the mill was idle for the want of ore. The company was in debt \$14,000. After making up my mind as to the best plan of opera-

¹⁹ The Rumley Mine at Wickes was a good producer. It was later acquired by the Alta Montana Mining Company.

²⁰ Miles Cavanaugh came to Virginia City from Colorado in 1865. He later went to Butte and became a prominent miner. He is often confused with his son, Miles J. Cavanaugh a prominent attorney at Butte.

²¹ The Hope Mining Company was successor to the St. Louis and Montana Mining Company of the late sixties. Gaty of St. Louis was president of both concerns. Hauser was manager in Montana for both. The first became bankrupt through bad investments but the Hope paid huge returns.

tion, I set Mr. Ballard²² at work with a crew of men and returned to the Rumley; made out my report and transmitted it to Samuel Gaty at St. Louis. Ballard worked quite a crew of men and the mine was giving good promises. The next month I drove my horse and buggy and went by way of Butte, crossed over Deer Lodge river and valley, striking Warm Spring Creek where the present town of Anaconda now is. On these trips in private conveyance I always carried my blankets, frying pan, provisions and oats for my horse. I always had to camp out one night on the way. First day out from Rumley I put up at my brother-in-laws, Howe's, at Butte City. I went every month until September when the mill was kept constantly running on good rich ore and then I resigned, or rather got leave of absence. Before fall the Company was out of debt, and Hauser made a lot of money out of the stock he owned. Ballard remained foreman of the mine for 10 years.

* * *

In 1875 Cole Sanders visited New York and commenced the formation of a syndicaté to build a "Erohm Dry Concentrator" between Jefferson City and the Rumley Mine. The place was called Wicks²³ in honor of one of the heaviest owners. It is said that the Wicks company spent over a million dollars in and about Wicks in the various works and in mines to furnish ore to run them. I sold them all the Legal Tender Mine riggings and trailing of our wet jiggng concentrator, amount to some \$6,000, which I turned over to the First National Bank of Helena on the Legal Tender debt.

Levi Allen came to me in August 1877 to get me to go with him to examine a copper mine he had in the Seven Devils country, Idaho. Allen claimed to have discovered the mine in 1862 on a trip with other parties from Lewistown, that he had been to the mine subsequent years and had been there in May 1877. He went from Helena, and from there to the mine, concluding to work on the mine and from there to Weiser Valley to obtain a supply of provisions. Getting down into the Council Valley and finding people were gone. Camping at night in the willows, a man came to them on horseback and told them the Nez Perce Indians had been through the country on the war path and it was a dangerous

²² G. B. Ballard, a native of Maine, came to Virginia City in 1864. Later he moved to Phlinsburg.

²³ W. W. Wickes was a Brooklyn capitalist who purchased first the Alta Mine. He organized the Alta Montana Mining Company and purchased the Legal Tender, the Comet, the Rumley and other mines. After some difficulties the Alta Montana was re-organized as the Helena Montana Mining and Reduction Company. This concern built a reduction plant at East Helena. Later the American Mining and Smelting Company purchased the company. The town of Wickes was named for W. W. Wickes. The first merchant there was T. A. Wickes whose descendants now live in Missoula.

place to be in. Allen and his partner immediately drove on, coming out of the country and back to Helena.

Allen exhibited his copper specimens to Mr. Hauser and other business men of Helena and told of the magnitude of his find. Mr. Hauser asked him his price, he stated \$50,000.00. The ore was examined and assayed, it proved to be genuine "Peacock" or "Horse Flesh" copper ore, carrying over 50% copper, some silver and gold. Hauser told Allen that if he had what he said he had and would get Lewis to go over and examine the mine, and his report fully corroborated Allen's, that he would give him his price for a title to the property. All this Allen represented to me and offered me a one-fourth interest and would pay all expenses for the trip, and I accepted. Resigned my superintendency at the Rumley and Hope mines, threw up my salaries amount to \$275 per month. Our journey to Snake River Canyon (7 Devils) would have to be made overland, a distance of over 600 miles and mostly thru wild country. We hired Cob Northrup with his four horse team, engaged John Lewis and Nelson Moore with saddle horses, provided ourselves with arms and ammunition, tents, provisions, tools, etc. A day or two before being ready to start, Allen informed me that he had been unable to raise any money to bear our expense and asked me if I could furnish it. I had \$1,200 in my pocket and consented to furnish the means.

On the 14th of Sept. we left Clancy for Snake River. My wife's sister, Mary Howe, accompanied us to Butte. Traveling was bad. The 2nd day we only reached the foot of the big hill where the road left Boulder Creek to go up into Big Park. There we pitched two tents and made ourselves as comfortable as possible in the rain. In the morning we had four or five inches of snow to contend with but the sun came out melting the snow. We remained in camp until most noon, waiting for the snow to disappear, in the meantime amusing ourselves shooting at a target. Leaving Butte next morning were now on our long trip of 65 days, going and coming, camping by the road side or in the wilderness every night; making our beds on the ground. Going via Silverbow, over the Deer Lodge pass, thru Bannock, Horse Prairie and down to Lemhi Junction, up Lemhi, over Lemhi Divide and down Birch Creek to the Old Oregon immigrant road, thence by the sink of Little Lost River and across Big Lost River to Champaign Creek, where we struck the Lava beds. Following round these Lava beds, next to the foothill we passed through Deadman's Flat, crossed Fish creek and Little wood River, over the mountains to Silver Spring Creek, up to the crossing of the Big Wood River.

In coming down Birch Creek from Lemhi, we came to where the Nez Perces had attacked a train of freight teams hauling goods from Corinne to Salmon City; goods were strewn in and on both side of the road, liquor casks had been emptied, ten chests robbed, and evidences of rice, sugar and tobacco having been carried off, and the wagons burned with the remaining contents. We picked up a lot of oysters and cans of fruit that were good. The Indians had very recently done this work, at the same time killing the teamsters and driving off the mules and horses, probably packing them with goods.

* * *

We had fish for dinner the next night, camping on Big Wood River a short distance below where Bellevue now stands. We reached Boise City the night of Sept. 30, 1877, slept in a corral with the boys. Purchased some supplies, apples, pears and melons and pulled out Oct. 1st. From Boise we passed Falks store on the Payette, crossed the Weiser River near its mouth and up Weiser to Man's Creek and over into Middle Valley to Salubrin into Indian Valley and then into Council Valley to the mouth of Hernet Creek—up the creek 12 miles, over a range and down Crooked River, crossed Lick Creek, Pine Creek, thence 8 miles up a rough steep mountain side, until we finally got our wagon to the top of the hill this side of Meerchaum or Indian Creek. From here to the Peacock Copper mine it was about 4 or 5 miles. Here we took it on foot, leading our horses.

We immediately went to work sinking a discovery hole, making surface cross cuts and taking samples of the ledge; staked out the claim. During our stay at the Peacock, our meat supply became exhausted and we started John Lewis out to hunt for venison. . . . We took about 25 samples, pounded them up, halving and quartering them down until each sample would fill a 25 lb. shot bag. Coming out, near Low Pass, I found plenty of good float, and wanted the boys to halt to make another location, but no, they weren't going to stop for anything. Upon arriving home in November 1877, my money was nearly gone. During the winter I made a set of maps of our copper mines, of the country, and route in from Council Valley; also assayed the samples of ore and had others assay them.

In February 1878, Mr. Hauser sent me word that he wanted me to go to Butte and take the place of A. M. Essler, in buying ore for the bank. My first ore purchased was from the Gagnon (pronounced Gonyon) mine. Joseph Rosenthal was part owner and superintendent. My orders were to attend the sampling and

take three sealed bottles of the pulp, one bottle to Chas. Rumley, U. S. Assayer of Helena; one bottle to be given to Joe Rosenthal's assayer at Butte; the 3rd bottle I was to keep as umpire bottle, in case the assayers did not agree. I was not supposed to know anything about assays; the bank was to settle. Instead of taking only three sealed bottles, I took 4. The Gagnon ore was very rich in silver and copper product. The first lot sampled, Rumley made go in silver 262 ozs. Rosenthal's assayer made it go 296 ozs.; a difference of 34 oz. of silver per ton; too much difference to make any settlement on. Under orders, I sent a 3rd bottle of pulp to Torrey & Sons in New York. I assayed the 4th bottle and got 286 ozs., but said nothing. In about 3 weeks, Torrey & Sons assay came, a certificate of 287 oz. silver per ton; one ounce more than my assay. After several such trials, Joe proposed to Mr. Hauser that I should sample the ore and assay it, and he would settle on my assay and that I should draw checks to pay him as soon as I had the assay made. I bought a great many thousand dollars worth of Joe.

In August S. T. Hauser came over from Helena and proposed that I enter the bank as book-keeper and Assistant to H. D. Hauser. In addition to my duties at the bank I still continued to buy ore. I had an assay office fitted up in the rear of the bank. My work was laborious and confining. The close attention I gave to the business of the bank began to tell on my health during the latter part of 1879.

Along in the winter I saw parties who had been in the Wood River country of Idaho the previous fall. They had glowing accounts of mines newly discovered there. . . . I knew something of the country, having camped on Wood River twice in 1877. I felt it in my bones that I must go there, and in February 1880, I commenced to make arrangements to get away from the bank on the pretense of bad health. I sent my wife to Clancy where she soon dispossessed the family we had leased to, and went to making butter. . . . On the 5th of April we left Butte City with our team and outfit bound for Wood River. . . .

About the 20th of May I heard of a rich strike over on the east fork of Wood River. We visited this strike but found nothing, but when returning over Elkhorn gulch, we came on a camp of two tents occupied by John Rasmusen, a Norwegian and John Keeler, a Dutchman. Rasmusen handed me a piece of Galena ore and wanted to know what I thought of it. I told him it was

fine looking ore. In a few days he came to the townsite where we were working on the body of my log house; and had a number of chunks of galena in the bag. Said he would have it assayed. The next day I pounded up and assayed the five lots. They were all about the same value, 140 to 148 ounces of silver per ton. John Rasmusen was known all over Idaho as "honest John." . . .

Honest John and Keeler had sunk an incline shaft down some 15 feet, run a shallow surface crosscut and did some other work showing more ore than they had in sight the first visit. We three sat on discovery dump. I said to them, "You have done some work since I was here and have shown up some more ore, I will raise my offer to \$12,000. Keeler stuck hard for \$14,000. I got Honest John to one side on pretense of looking at some of their work, and had a talk with him; he finally said he was willing to sell at my offer. In working Keeler, I told him I would have to have the privilege of working the mine for ten days before I would agree to pay his price. This he refused, I must take it without any further work being done. I said I would give him \$12,000 and get the money inside 20 days with \$400 cash down. I finally closed the bargain and headed for Montana.

I had with me 50 lbs. of the ore which I exhibited to Mr. Hauser and asked him to furnish me \$12,000.00 to buy this mine. He said he would talk with old Holter, if he would stand for the proposition he thought the money might be raised. When I met them I found R. S. Hale with them; Hauser had called him to the conference. After many inquiries of me, Hauser said "I am willing to back Lewis for the money if you (Holter) and Hale will stand in. Holter at once said he would after a little further talk, Hale said he would too. Sam Hauser said "I ain't afraid to trust old man Lewis, if he don't get robbed on the way the money will be all right." I was to have management of the property and be the superintendent. I took the money and sewed it up in the collar and waistbands of a new red flannel miner's shirt, that I put on and wore.

I found George Bud, brother of John Lewis' subsequent wife, who wanted to come to Wood River, and I was glad to have his company. I told him of the business I was on and that he could be my body guard. We both prepared ourselves with pistols and ammunition. Leaving my wife at Clancy in good health, we passed through Butte, leaving there on the 5th of July 1880. We

reached Ketchum without encountering any highwaymen four days before the limit of my time was up. I paid each of the John's—Rasmusen and Keeler, \$6,000 a piece and secured the title to the famous Elkhorn mine.²¹

²¹ The career of Isaac Ives Lewis as related in the manuscript of his reminiscences, thereafter is concerned with the development of Idaho. Brief biographical mention of Lewis is found in the *Minnesota Society Collections*, Vol. 14, (St. Paul, 1912), p. 437; M. A. Leeson, *History of Montana, 1739-1885*, (Chicago, 1885), p. 1342; *History of Idaho*, Edited by James H. Hawley, (Chicago, 1920), p. 204.



Cut by Courtesy of The Daily Missoulian

All that remains of the old town of Hell Gate, Missoula County, founded in 1860 by Frank L. Worden and Christopher P. Higgins. The recently organized Hell Gate Restoration Society is undertaking the reconstruction and preservation of the two remaining buildings.

BOOKS AND REVIEWS

OUR NEIGHBORHOOD: Newsy and Nosey. Compiled by the GET TOGETHER CLUB. (1949. Price \$2.00. Address: Katharyn Senecal, Avon, Montana.)

Under this folksy title the Women's Club of Avon, Montana, has published an interesting and valuable book on the history of the area drained by the Little Blackfoot river from Avon north to Helmville. This small volume, 106 pages, contains biographies of the early settlers, anecdotes, poems, detailed histories of the ghost towns and present day settlements, together with numerous pictures of early day scenes and pioneers of the region. It is a splendid example of what can be done in the field of local history by a group of industrious and earnest workers.

Several errors as to locations or dates appear such as the mistaken identification of Ophir Gulch near Blackfoot City with Ophir City on the Marias river near Fort Benton where ten men were massacred by unknown Indians, May 25, 1865. (page 51.) The murder of the "old Frenchwomen" occurred early in September, 1868 not in 1881. (page 35.) However, such mistakes are rare and more than compensated for by the store of information on the history of the locality and its residents which was gathered by interviews with the old timers and painstaking search of the early files of the Deer Lodge and Helena newspapers.

It is hoped that this book and the more recent "Story of the Tobacco Plains" will be followed by others of the same type until the story of Montana is told.

(Mrs.) Anna McDonnell

Asst. Librarian,
Historical Society of Montana,
Helena.

THE OLD OREGON COUNTRY. By Oscar O. Winther. (Stanford University Press. 1950. \$7.50.)

THE OLD OREGON COUNTRY, one account in the Stanford Transportation Series, is a sober factual unfolding of the steps taken by its settlers and later incoming capitalists to "establish orderly methods of commerce and travel." The drama of the overcoming of multitudinous difficulties is absent. The interpretation has in general given way to chronological recounting of events and the listing of persons. The result is a valuable book of minute references—who owned what steamships plying on what streams

at what time and serving what territory with what commodities, such information is adequately stated and voluminously documented. No purely factual historian will need to go over the materials again. Mr. Winther's research has been exhaustive.

The organization of the contents allows of considerable repetition. Many if not most of the materials have been traversed by the author in his other writings about the Northwest or by other writers. This, however, is the first assembling of available facts under the centripetal idea of transportation.

The book is heavily and well illustrated and it carries maps of the Old Oregon Country (1838), the Pacific Northwest (1879), Oregon State and Washington Territory, showing wagon roads (1866), Idaho (1890), Western Montana (1887), British Columbia and Vancouver Island (1862). These should be adequate, and yet in the text so many places are named, especially in tracing routes (most important to this subject), which do not appear on the maps that outlines of routes with locations of cliffs and canyons, mountains, passes, river rapids, portages, camps would have been most helpful. The printing and the make-up are beautiful.

H. G. Merriam

Montana State University.

THIS RECKLESS BREED OF MEN: The Trappers and Fur Traders of the Southwest. By Robert Glass Cleland (N. Y. Alfred A. Knoph [1950] pp. VII-XVI 1-361, index I-XX \$4.00.)

The area described in this book lies west of the Mississippi and Missouri and the principal interest centers in the fur trade of the mountain region and of the desert lands that lie west of the Great Plains. The first chapter on "Beaver and the Mountain Men" is one of the most accurate and comprehensive brief accounts of actual operations of the fur traders in print. In spite of the extensive literature on Jedidiah S. Smith, the two chapters on his work add information not previously published and supply an impersonal estimate of his work. Then follow fascinating chapters on James Pattie, Ewing Young and his associates and rivals, the Robidoux family, Peg-leg Smith, Jim Baker, Old Bill Williams, and Joseph R. Walker. The final chapter is a penetrating account of Hudson's Bay Company in the West with special attention to the activities of Peter Skene Ogden and John Work in competition with the Americans.

Of particular interest, are the author's analysis of many early fur trade narratives. These sometimes upset accepted authorities and again strengthen other versions.

The style is fluent and the narrative is always clear. The book contains sixteen attractive illustrations and four maps. The make up and binding are usually good. This book is well worth while for any student of western history.

Paul C. Phillips

Montana State University.

THE STORY OF THE TOBACCO PLAINS COUNTRY: The Autobiography of a Community. By Olga Wedenmeyer Johnson and Associates. (Eds.). (Eureka, Montana, The Pioneers of the Tobacco Plains Country. 1950. pp. 273. III. \$2.65.)

This intimate story presents the evolution of a distinctive Montana community from the coming of the glaciers to the development of Eureka as the "Christmas tree capital of the world." The book was a community project, with many contributors. The editors have pieced together with considerable skill a wide variety of source materials, reminiscences, interviews, letters, newspaper articles and hearsay, together with standard references such as those on David Thompson, Father De Smet and the American and Canadian historical association publications.

The account covers the entire scope of the community, its spectacular mountains, Indians, trails and streams, mines, steamboats on the Kootenai, homesteads, local rural communities and its towns all generously garnished with colorful characters. The style also comes from the community, it is direct, often earthy and entirely readable. The several writers have wisely left much of the vernacular in the stories and the resulting atmosphere is genuine. Almost a hundred pictures and a detailed endplate map add greatly to the value of the book. The printing by Caxton Press is well done. The book is a contribution to the task of collecting the scattered story of Montana history, which other communities of the state should note.

Merrill G. Burlingame

Montana State College.

THE MAJESTIC LAND: Peaks, Parks & Prevaricators of the Rockies & Highlands of the Northwest. By Eric Thane. (Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1950. 347 pp. Illustrated. \$4.00.)

Within the covers of this book the author has compiled much data on the scenic grandeur, what to see, hope for, and what to expect from a trip through the Rockies and highlands of the Northwest. Only a persistent person could have attempted to

weave together so readable an account, best suited for the casual reader, rather than for the exponent of scholarly research. Since the volume does not purport to be a history, although numerous historical incidents are related, it perhaps will escape the "needling" of the analytical individual who considers factual verification as important, and the indication of dates and sources of information necessary.

The appeal of this book, with its interesting pictures, will be greatest for the tourist, whose ambition is to see the "wonders" and perhaps later to read about where he has been. One favorable accomplishment may be credited to *THE MAJESTIC LAND*, and that is in calling attention to the unsurpassed natural beauty of the regions considered, their richness in frontier reminiscences, and the unstifled action of aggressive men in personal pursuits, in days gone by.

A convenient index makes for ready reference to persons and places within the geographical range of the volume—sections of Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and the Canadian Rockies. The human interest stories, interspersed throughout the book, are a source of entertainment and amusement.

Albert J. Partoll

Missoula, Montana.

THOMAS FRANCIS MEAGHER, An Irish Revolutionary in America. By Robert G. Athearn. (University of Colorado Studies: Series in History. 182 pp. Boulder. \$2.)

Sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered when he was 25 years old; "lifer" on a penal island at 26, escaped convict with a price on his head three years later; attorney, editor, writer and explorer; Civil War commander at 38, and, at 43, Acting Governor of a Territory eight times the size of his native Ireland—that was Meagher, one of the most spectacular soldiers of fortune the world has ever known.

But before his 44th birthday Meagher was dead in the muddy Missouri at Fort Benton, and to this day no one knows just how or why he died. Meagher himself—with considerable justification—feared assassination; and Mr. Athearn's meticulous research for this first comprehensive and impartial biography of the renowned Irish patriot brought him no answer to the old question: Did he fall or was he pushed? The author contents himself with the statement that the facts of Meagher's death are "obscure," as indeed they are.

Meagher, as Mr. Athearn correctly points out, missed greatness by a wide margin; but he was unfailingly colorful. The author of this study does not permit the aura of glamour, real or phony, which surrounded the "hero" to blind him to the fact that the story is essentially tragic; that a brilliant but weak youngster, prematurely catapulted to fame, failed in virtually everything he tackled after he was 25.

In historical perspective Mr. Athearn is correct in regarding Meagher's hectic two years in Montana as "but an epilogue," yet a Montana reader cannot help but be disappointed when he finds only about twenty pages devoted to this final and fatal phase of the adventurer's career. One misses, especially, a more detailed discussion of the "Acting One's" clash with the Vigilantes, which gave rise to the death threats which haunted him on his last ride. There is no mention of Meagher's sometimes hilarious relationship with Baron O'Keefe of Missoula. Nor does the book note the mysterious subsequently repudiated "confession" at Plains in 1913 by one Patrick Miller that he had slain Meagher, or the sensational David Billingsley interview in THE ANACONDA STANDARD many years later, in which the 87-year-old Billingsley claimed to have been present when a Vigilante group secretly voted for Meagher's assassination.

But the Colorado historian has cut through the hero-worship of Meagher's Fenian admirers to provide, for the first time, an authentic and plausible biography of the gallant swashbuckler whose mounted figure, frozen in bronze, hurls itself forever into new Montana adventures from our Capitol plaza. And, in an epilogue, he has splendidly fixed the hero's place in the national scene:

In the fifteen years which Meagher was to live in this turbulent, expansionistic America which shouted defiance at the more mature members of the family in the crackling voice of its gangling, self-conscious youth, he readily found his place. The young man of the sword matched this truculence, this bombast, this lack of restraint, with his own sanguine spirit. The land of his adoption gave him a roaring welcome, for it was a big-hearted land, full of sentiment for sufferers from lands less fortunate. Here the downtrodden were welcome; here the leaders of lost causes found refuge.

Joseph Kinsey Howard

Great Falls

Northwest Books, First Supplement put out last year by the University of Nebraska Press and originally selling for \$4.00 is now available for \$2.50. Copies may be procured either from the publisher or from Dr. Rufus A. Coleman at Missoula who is the general editor.

This book of reference, an extension of the similar one published by Binford and Mort of Portland in 1942, is a bibliography of much of the writing appearing in Montana, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, and (for the first time) British Columbia during the past seven years or more. According to its preface, this book has a four-fold purpose. It may be used as a bibliographical, biographical, book selection tool, as well as a magazine author and title work. Over one hundred critic-readers are concerned in this enterprise.

In addition to libraries, this book should appeal to any one interested in the writing of this region, especially teachers who have charge of classes in Northwest history or literature.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE MONTANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY is designed to preserve, to publish, and to promote interest in, the history of Montana. Four issues a year are contemplated, each issue of the first year is specially planned to call attention to the resources of the "Treasure State." The cover for January features the timber resources, and in like manner April will call attention to the sheep-raising industry; July the cattle industry, and October the mining industry. Appropriate covers will designate each issue.

Making history live again in pageants has met with great public interest, and promise is that 1951 will see the pioneer and frontier period again unfold in historical dramas. Prof. Bert Hansen of the Montana State University at Missoula, has within the past five years presented eight pageants throughout the state, with great success. Last year he presented "And the Water Flows" at Missoula, and "Corridor of an Empire" at the headwaters of the Missouri river near Three Forks. A historical pageant drama is planned for Anaconda in August, 1951.

Helena will be the city honored with the 1951 convention of the Society of Montana Pioneers, and the Sons and Daughters of Pioneers. Tentative dates are August 23 to August 25, inclusive, when it is hoped the new Veterans-Pioneer Memorial Building will be completed. Officers of the Society of Montana Pioneers for 1950-1951 are: President, Byron O. Wickham, Waterloo; Vice-President, Henry B. Daems, Ennis; Secretary-Treasurer, Roy M. Crismas, Missoula; Executive Committee (three members): William K. Burns, Great Falls; Mrs. Julia R. Elledge, Virginia City; Mrs. Mary Lee Doane, Bozeman.

Officers for 1950-1951 of the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers are: President, William B. Kantner, Deer Lodge; First Vice-President, Donald Thexton, Ennis; Third Vice-President, Edgar M. Hall, Helena; Secretary, Mrs. Ione R. Pierre, Cascade; Treasurer, Mrs. Mary D. Johnstone, Three Forks; Historian, Arthur M. Woods, Missoula; Registrar, Mrs. Peggy Elliott, Butte; Marshal, Ralph L. Starr, Missoula; Directors, Charles A. Buck, Stevensville, term expiring 1953; Thelma Dunbar Keyser, Butte, (exp. 1953); Mrs. Ann Phelan, Fort Benton, (exp. 1952); Mrs. Agnes Hall, Helena, (exp. 1952); Herbert G. Dunbar, Three Forks, (exp. 1951); Mrs. Lottie Rumsey Willett, Helena, (exp. 1951); Mrs. May Bruneau, Cascade, (exp. 1951).

An effort is now on in Missoula county to preserve the site of old Hell Gate as a historical landmark. Recently organized was the Hell Gate Restoration Society, with the sole purpose of restoring and preserving the pioneer settlement. Plans call for restoring two buildings, landscaping the site, and providing fences and shelters. Under consideration is financing the actual cost of restoration.

The Bibliographical Society of America is currently sponsoring a nation-wide survey of Nineteenth Century American Book Publishers. Dr. Rufus A. Coleman, Montana State University at Missoula, is the chairman of the committee for Montana. Desired is data on any book or pamphlet published in Montana during the last century. Title, author, imprint, number of pages, and size, is essential. Wanted also is "information regarding early Montana publishers and printers, especially data of a personal nature not to be found in the usual histories or biographies touching on the subject."

A new organization within recent years is the Bitter Root Fifty Year Club, which is open to persons having a half-century residence in the valley. The personal history of members is being compiled for preservation. Officers for 1950-1951 are: President, Mrs. H. C. Geery; Vice-President, Mrs. N. E. Wilkerson; Secretary, Mrs. Washington J. McCormick; Treasurer, Charles B. Wemple. Corvallis is the meeting place for the 1951 session.

Ground was broken March 21, 1950 for the new Montana Veterans' and Pioneers' Memorial building. Governor John W. Bonner wielded the shovel before a large representation of Veteran organizations, the Montana Pioneers and the Sons and Daughters of Pioneers, and the Historical Society of Montana.

The official seal of the Historical Society of Montana is by legislative act substantially as follows: "A central group representing a covered immigrant wagon drawn by two yolk of oxen, showing prairie in the foreground, mountains in the background and directly beneath it the figures '1865.' Said seal shall be two inches in diameter and surrounded by the words, 'Historical Society of Montana Seal.'"

At some future date it is hoped to present historical information on early maps showing Montana in pre-territorial and territorial days.

Desired for the next issue is a factual article on the history of the sheep raising industry, either for a section or the entire state.

In conclusion—The Historical Society of Montana has presented the first issue of THE MONTANA MAGAZINE OF HIS-

TORY. To the editor fell the voluntary assignment of assembling the material, writing the dedication, and performing those editorial services attendant to launching a new publication. May the passing of time see the continuation of the precepts to preserve, to publish, and to promote interest in, the history of Montana.

—The Editor.

CONTRIBUTORS—PERSONAL MENTION

Lester H. Loble is an attorney at Helena, and is a former president of the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers. He has been interested in the Montana Veterans' and Pioneers' Memorial Building from the beginning.

Merrill G Burlingame is professor of history at Montana State College, Bozeman, and is an active exponent of Montana history.

Oscar O. Mueller is an attorney at Lewistown, and for a period of years has been interested in the subject of Vigilante activities in protecting the cattle industry.

Albert J. Partoll of Missoula, is the author-editor of a number of historical research publications. His special interest is the Flathead-Salish country of western Montana, with reference to a biography of Chief Charlo.

Paul C. Phillips is professor of history at the Montana State University at Missoula. He is a noted authority on the history of the Pacific Northwest.

Virginia Lee Speck is an instructor at the Missoula County High School in Missoula. She is a great grand-daughter of E. G. Brooke, of whose adventure she writes.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTANA

The Historical Society of Montana shall be and constitute a public department of the State of Montana for the use, learning, culture and enjoyment of the citizens of the state and for the preservation of historical records and saving and protection of historical places, sites and monuments and the custody, maintenance and operation of the historical library.

The objects of the Historical Society of Montana include the following: To collect, arrange and preserve historical materials such as books, pamphlets, maps, manuscripts, newspapers, microfilm transcripts, journals and diaries, photographs, portraits, military relics, Indian artifacts and implements, art objects, natural history materials such as fossils, concretions, native plants and animals, specimens of ores and minerals; to gather, display and make available for use, information, specimens and materials calculated to exhibit faithfully the antiquities in the area, and facilitate historical, scientific and antiquarian research illustrative of Montana in particular, and generally of the Northwest and of the United States of America; to promote the study of Montana history by lectures and publications.

The society shall be composed of active, associate, corresponding, honorary and affiliated members.

Active members shall be classified as patron, life and annual members. The contribution of one thousand dollars or more shall entitle the contributor to be enrolled as a patron. The contribution of one hundred dollars shall entitle the contributor to be enrolled as a life member. Patrons and life members shall not be required to pay annual dues to the society. Annual members shall be enrolled upon payment of three dollars per annum in advance. All active members shall receive the publications of the society and have full privileges of membership.

(Abstracted from Chapter 134, Laws of the 31st Legislative Assembly, of the State of Montana, and the By-Laws of the Society.)

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